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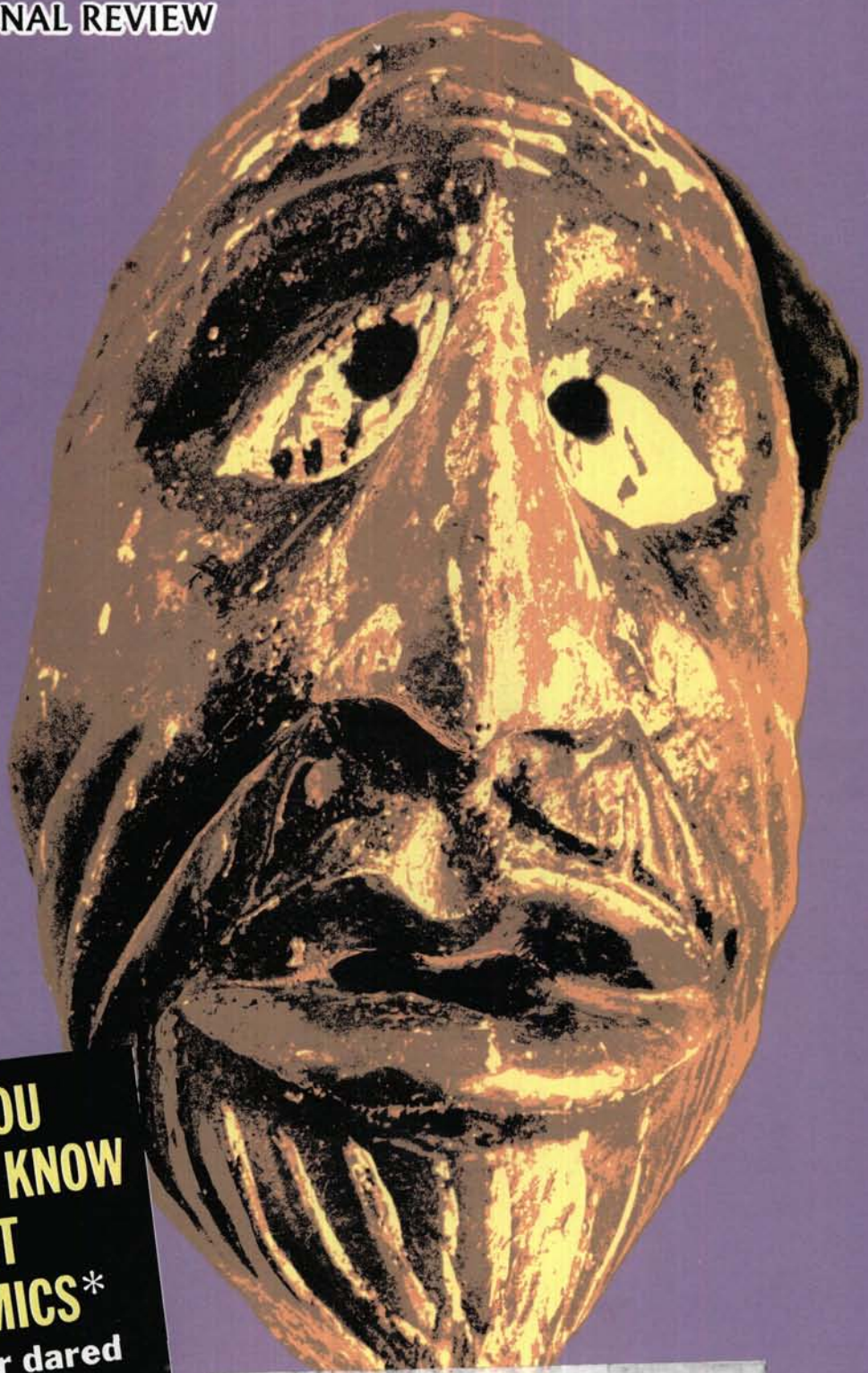
MAY 10, 1974

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

The Portuguese Atrocity That Didn't Happen

JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK



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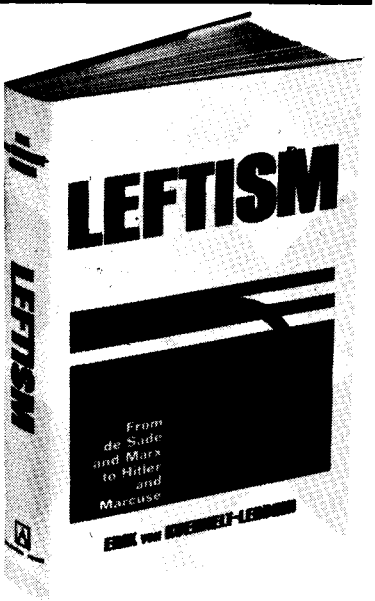

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Letters

Nixon . . .

In "Taking the Twenty-Fifth" [April 26] Mr. C. Dickerman Williams produces a fascinating scenario of the possible Senate trial of impeachment charges against Richard Nixon. Although I do not challenge the ability of our contemporary lawyers to draw any proceeding out to its ultimate limit, I do rather doubt Mr. Williams' prediction that the trial would last "at least a year." For one thing, I don't think the performers or the audience could endure it for that length of time. If the House votes articles of impeachment, as is now probable, I believe they will have been winnowed down from the scores of charges that have been unofficially itemized to a fairly short list. And some of these few the Senate might dismiss early in the game. Impeachment requires conviction on one charge only; if that were voted, further action by the Senate, becoming constitutionally redundant, might, after some jockeying, be rushed to a speedy conclusion or even dispensed with. On the other hand, acquittal on one or two of the most solidly based charges might lead to summary disposition of the remainder. I conclude that the Senate could complete the trial in, say, three months *if* a majority of the Senate wanted to—a condition which, I grant, is by no means certain, since a majority of the senators may figure that the longer the trial lasts, the better.

Kent, Conn. JAMES BURNHAM

and Buckley . . .

I agree wholeheartedly with the statement written by Senator Buckley which appeared in the April 12 issue of *NR*. Indeed it is time for the President to step down.

Ft. Benning, Ga. W. A. LAWRENCE

The defection of Senator Buckley has saddened me. Did the NATIONAL REVIEW's weak-kneed capitulation to the liberals' transformation of Watergate, an essentially trivial affair, into the greatest crime in the history of the Republic influence the Senator?

The President has been governing well and effectively, especially in the field of foreign affairs, and he needs all the support he can get, especially from conservatives. Joining the anti-Nixon liberal chorus will not help Senator Buckley. Conservatives and Republicans will always remember that when the going got rough he buckled under the pressure emanating from the demagogic news media and the liberal Democrats.

Hagerstown, Md. HOWARD T. KEATS

In my opinion Senator Buckley took not only a most logical but a most courageous position. I understand the mail has been running heavily against his position, but I don't believe people really understand the trauma Watergate has created for the nation. Whether or not Nixon is guilty of sins of commission is now irrelevant. There is no doubt he is guilty of a sin of omission by not from the start going to the people with a mea culpa, and I think all but the left wing nuts would have accepted it. I don't have any more sympathy for those who are rabidly pro-Nixon than for those who are rabidly anti-Nixon. I think neither group understands the issue.

San Mateo, Calif. LEIF JOHANSEN

I find it difficult to express the anger I feel toward Senator Buckley. I thought that I had finally found someone for whom I could vote enthusiastically; a Conservative, most of whose views I shared.

Now, to my dismay, I find I voted for just another betrayer, another joiner of the wolf pack. He just can't stand the heat, can he?

One hundred or so years ago we survived a tragic Civil War, an assassination, and impeachment proceedings against a President—to say nothing of a difficult Reconstruction period. I stress—we *survived.*

Marion, N.Y. MRS. ROBERT L. PURCHASE

I have read with admiration the complete text of Senator Buckley's remarks regarding the resignation of the President. I share his misgivings about the effect of prolonging Mr. Nixon's stay in office.

I suggest, however, that he sells the impeachment-cum-trial process a bit short. His statement contains the tacit assumption that Richard Nixon is author of our national ills. While he may justly claim

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc. 1974. Washington Bureau and Book Editor: George F. Will, 6683 32nd Place N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

Address all subscription mail, orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Manager, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

RATES: *$24.00 a year ($14.00 for the 44-page issues, and $10.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.*

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NR NATIONAL REVIEW VOL. XXVI, NO. 19 MAY 10, 1974

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

. . . **James Jackson Kilpatrick**, the columnist, TV commentator, author, and most important for the purposes of this article, former newspaper editor, asks himself what he would have done had he been in the place of the London *Times* editor who was presented in July 1973 with a story of a particularly gruesome Portuguese massacre in Mozambique—just one week before the Portuguese Prime Minister was due in London on a state visit—and concludes he would have reached for an "11-foot pole." . . . **Paul McGouldrick**, associate professor of economics at the State University of New York (Binghamton), weighs in with a devastating critique of Keynes. "I began to doubt the Keynesian wisdom in nine years at the Federal Reserve Board," writes Mr. McGouldrick. He served on the FRB after taking his doctorate at Harvard and has since taught at McGill, in Montreal, and at SUNY. He characterizes himself as "a conservative in politics, economics, and theology, and on the moderate left with respect to music, architecture, and training German shepherds." . . . **Lowell F. Jones**, a businessman in Minnesota who ran afoul of the consumerists a couple of years back, has a horrifying tale to tell. The Naderites play plenty rough. . . . **Edwin M. Yoder Jr.**, whose reviews appear frequently in *Book World* as well as *NR*, has very little good to say about Fawn Brodie's sensationalist "intimate history" of Thomas Jefferson. . . . And **M. J. Sobran** is favorably impressed by former *NR* staffer and present *NR* book reviewer Ferdinand Mount's *The Theater of Politics*. The followup to Mr. Sobran's skilled dissection of *Playboy* in *NR*'s new feature on periodicals will appear in the next issue, and is titled: "Of *Ms.* and Men."

—PLB

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FROM AEI . . .

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Political Campaigns and Presidential Power

Ralph K. Winter, Jr.

At the request of the Senate Watergate Committee, this report examines the major issues of the Watergate hearings. The AEI study and others commissioned by the Committee will be used in determining the need for new legislation.

Winter, professor of law at Yale Law School, discusses campaign financing, so-called "Dirty Tricks," executive privilege and power, national security and the advisability of an independent Department of Justice.

A panel of distinguished scholars headed by Professor Alexander M. Bickel of Yale Law School served as consultants.

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authorship of some of them, he is in my view more the product of a certain political-moral climate than the cause of it.

The public has long acquiesced in politicians who practice, to quote Judge Cardozo out of context, "the morals of the marketplace." The cynical Actonian assumption has been a self-fulfilling prophecy. What we need now is not the self-excision of a President, but the exposure to public view of the attitudes and apathies that made him inevitable. Otherwise we will eventually replace one Richard Nixon with another.

A trial in the Senate will fill this need. It will also prevent to some extent a martyrdom. Senator Buckley's desire to spare the nation this catharsis is nobly conceived. But some ills require painful purgation. Is this perhaps one of them?

St. Johnsbury, Vt. ROBERT D. RACHLIN

and Will

Regarding "Going to the Senate" [March 15] by Mr. George F. Will, it seems that somewhere along the line he is overlooking a vital point. I know nothing about the issues in Pennsylvania, but I do know that both in Michigan [in the earlier election for Gerald Ford's seat—ED.] and in Cincinnati the Republican candidates were busy disowning the President. Also, at each election Mr. Richardson was there spreading his own brand of Republicanism.

Your own statistics show that 32 per cent of the Republicans in Pennsylvania stayed home and did not vote and in Michigan 55 per cent did the same. Isn't it logical to assume that some Republican voters stayed home because there was no choice: all the candidates were against the President?

I believe that before there can be any real validity to your reasoning we need an election in which the Republican candidate supports the President and then loses heavily.

Algonac, Mich. L. M. EARNSHAW

Mr. Earnshaw has a point. The April 16 Michigan by-election has now provided a case in which the Republican backed the President and lost, though not heavily. —ED.

Ornstein on Quotas

Allan C. Ornstein ["Are Quotas Here to Stay?" April 26] misses the real issue. Of course quotas misallocate resources at any one point in time. Who would argue that? But let's look at the situation through time.

To undertake training is costly—both in terms of income forgone during the training period and in direct costs such as tuition and books. For a person to undertake investment in himself he must expect the sum of returns from the training, suitably discounted, to be greater than the cost of the training. Did it ever occur to

(Continues on page 550)

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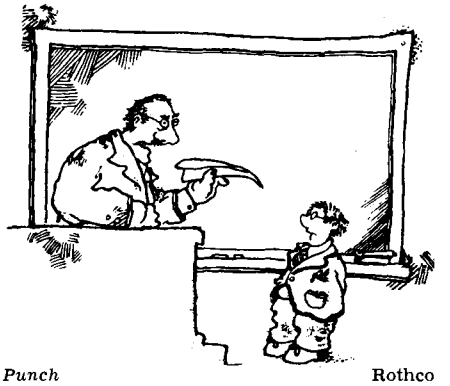
FOR THE RECORD

■ Further breaks in the ranks: Liberal Republican Senator **Clifford Case** (N.J.) says if the impeachment proceedings are too prolonged the President should resign. . . . Senator **Charles Percy** has reiterated his somewhat roundabout call for resignation, and Governor **Mills Godwin** of Virginia (the first Republican to be elected governor of Virginia since Reconstruction) has made a muted call for impeachment because it "might be the only answer to the crisis of leadership" in the country. . . . **William Barnstead** of Massachusetts has become the first state GOP chairman to urge Nixon to resign. He came to the decision reluctantly, says Barnstead, after the **Traxler** election in Michigan. "My job is to rebuild the Republican Party in this state and it can't be done so long as **Richard Nixon** is in the White House." . . . The **Evans & Novak** newsletter (April 17) reported that chief White House counsel **James St. Clair** had not, to that time, been permitted to see or listen to some of the key March-April 1973 tapes Chairman **Rodino**'s committee wants.

■ A *Christian Science Monitor* poll of Republican state chairmen and national committeemen/women (88 answered) shows **Ronald Reagan** as their favored candidate for '76. Reagan got 25 votes, **Ford** 22, **Rockefeller** 19, **Connally** 11. Others mentioned: **Elliot Richardson**, Senators **Howard Baker** and Charles Percy, National Chairman **George Bush**, and Indianapolis Mayor **Richard Lugar**. . . . On the Democratic side the State House of Representatives in Washington has passed a proposal that would permit Senator **Henry Jackson** to run for the Presidency or Vice Presidency in 1976 and still seek reelection to his Senate seat. . . . The AFL-CIO COPE of six Western states (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Alaska, and Hawaii) has come out for



Punch Rothco

"You do not perhaps feel, Entwhisle, that your learning 'avoir' and 'être' might do more in the long run for Anglo-French relations?"

the defeat of Republican Senator **Robert Packwood** (Ore.)—he voted against labor-approved legislation nine out of 11 times. COPE voted to endorse and presumably help fund the reelection campaigns of Democrats **Mike Gravel** (Alaska), **Warren Magnuson** (Wash.), and **Frank Church** (Idaho). . . . The fact that the Texas COPE will not endorse either candidate in the hot Democratic gubernatorial race May 7 between Governor **Dolph Briscoe** and liberal feminist **Sissie Farenthold** is regarded locally as a tactical victory for Mrs. Farenthold. . . . Sportscaster **Howard Cosell**, announcing that "there are not ten people in the United States better qualified to run for the Senate than Howard Cosell," said he might run for Senator **Buckley**'s seat in '76. Buckley would "like to see the other nine people on his list."

■ Red China developments: Hong Kong press reports indicate U.S. Ambassador **David Bruce** wants out of his present job because he has no line to the top Chinese leaders, because he has been cut off from formal diplomatic social circles since his arrival, and because, according to UPI's **Charles R. Smith**, he finds Peking "dull and restrictive." . . . Red China has refused a visa to **Michael McGahey**, the British CP mineworkers official who threatened armed revolt during the coal strike in Britain last February. McGahey had intended to lead a delegation of miners to Mainland China, North Vietnam, and what the far left calls the "liberated areas" of the South.

■ Watching the media: *TV Guide*'s new feature, its "News Watch" column which reports on bias in the press, has signed on as regular columnists **Kevin Phillips**, **John Lofton** (formerly of *Monday*), and **Edith Efron** (*The News Twisters*), which gives some idea of where *TV Guide* thinks the bias will be coming from. . . . The **National News Council** (**William A. Rusher** is a member), set up a year ago to monitor the news, is investigating two claims of inaccurate reporting in the *New York Times* News Service and an ABC-TV documentary on the oil crisis. . . . And Kevin Phillips, **Albert Sindlinger**, and **Paul Blackman** are putting out a newsletter (4721 Montgomery Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20014) called *The Media Report* which hopes to go **Gallagher** one better. . . . *Human Events*' April 27 issue is a blockbuster celebrating its 30th anniversary, with fascinating backgrounder by **Felix Morley** on its founding and its founding fathers—**Frank Hanighen**, **William Henry Chamberlin**, **Jim Wick**, **Frank Chodorov**—plus articles by just about everyone who is anyone in conservativedom including **Henry Hazlitt**, **John Chamberlain**, **John Ashbrook**, James Buckley, **Jesse Helms**, **Stan Evans**, **Donald Rogers**, and many others.

■ Startled: The **Connecticut disk jockey** who asked his listeners last week to phone in their three perfect wishes and got, first off the griddle, this one: Health, Happiness, and the Impeachment of Richard Nixon.

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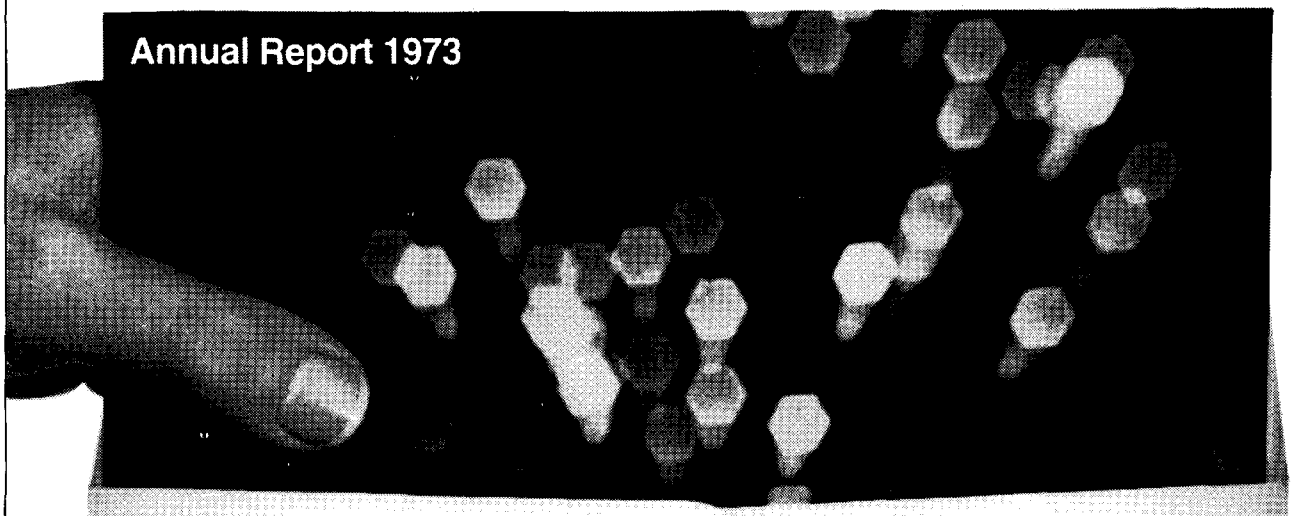
We're taking the wraps off 1980 with our 1973 Annual Report.



In the year 1973 we instituted Project 80—our new plan to more than double our present volume over the balance of this decade.

This will be accomplished by expanding present businesses and introducing new products and services.

Attainment of our Project 80 goals would, just as importantly, make possible steady and increasing employment. (Our employees have increased to 438,000 from 428,000 at the end of 1972.)

In 1973 our company prepared for the future with a record $852 million investment in new plants and facilities worldwide, as well as with research, development and engineering programs which reached $400 million, a portion funded by customers.

In addition, we entered 1974 with a record manufacturing backlog of $4.1 billion, equal to seven months of manufacturing sales.

More importantly, 1973 was the 14th consecutive year in which we reached record levels in sales, income, and earnings per share before extraordinary items.

Our worldwide sales and revenues were $10.2 billion—a 19 percent increase over the restated 1972 figure of $8.6 billion. This does not include insurance premiums earned and finance income of $2.6 billion, an increase of 16 percent over 1972.

Consolidated income, before extraordinary items, was a record $521 million, a gain of 9 percent over 1972 income, before extraordinary items, of $477 million.

This was equal to $4.17 per common and common equivalent share, an increase of 10 percent over 1972 per share earnings of $3.79, before extraordinary gains of $6.5 million and $6.7 million in 1973 and 1972 respectively.

On balance, 1973 was a year in which there were record accomplishments and actions in virtually all our business areas which give us a head start toward our dual Project 80 goals: business growth and greater service to people throughout the world.

For a copy of our 1973 Annual Report, which also outlines our Project 80, write to: Director of Investor Relations, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 320 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The best ideas are the ideas that help people. ITT

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THE WEEK

■ If you wonder how Congress can conceivably spend so much money, here are a few samples of its handiwork in recent years. Study of Polish bisexual frogs—$6,000. Chasing wild boars in Pakistan—$35,000. A potato chip machine for Morocco—$37,314. Payment to the Queen of England for not growing cotton on her Mississippi plantation—$68,000. A carpet for House Speaker Carl Albert—$31,650. A yacht for Marshal Tito—$2 million. Study of Australian aborigines' sweat—$70,000. Carl Albert's draperies—$21,000. Study of the cultural, economic, and social impact of rural road construction in Poland—$85,000. Analysis of violin varnish—$5,000. Carl Albert's chandeliers—$44,000. Budget of the Interdepartmental Screw Thread Committee, a WW I emergency bureau—$250,000. Carl Albert's furniture—$65,000. Traveler's aid to migrants lost on the Los Angeles freeways—$203,979. Study of Frisbees—$375,000.

■ In theory, one might expect that union demands would stop short of driving employers out of business. In practice, however, unions have played a key role in the demise of railroads, coal mines, and manufacturers (e.g., Studebaker). Such apparently suicidal strategies have been nowhere more evident than among New York newspaper unions. A 114-day printers' strike in 1962-63 helped bury four New York newspapers, and another strike two years ago closed a daily racing paper. This may not be entirely irrational. By reducing the number of competitors, unions may see a possibility of sharing in monopoly profits. And if the majority of union members has firm seniority protection, they might hold out for top dollar regardless of how many jobs are lost by new or part-time workers. It is no coincidence that the average age of New York printers is 55. Now, the New York Typographical Union is fighting the automation which its own actions have made inevitable. There is also some quarrel with fixed-dollar pay increases rather than percentage increases, since the latter offer proportionately more to those who are already well paid. Barred by injunctions from violating a no-strike pledge, the union is threatening a rerun of the "chapel meeting" (standing around on company time). Meanwhile, *Washington Post* reporters are striking for a $478 weekly minimum after two years, plus a full cost-of-living escalator, plus 16 cents a mile gasoline allowance, and various fringe benefits. Perhaps the *Post* will put in for a government subsidy?

■ Poor César Chavez. Where have all his followers gone? Once the United Farm Workers union had as many as 55,000 members; now that number has shriveled to under 10,000. Only one table grape grower in all California is under contract to the UFW. And the Teamsters, they just keep rolling along. Recently, however, Chavez got some good news: George Meany threw his AFL-CIO support behind the UFW boycott. In return Meany extracted a major concession from Chavez: the UFW has to drop its secondary boycott tactics, which had hurt many AFL-CIO affiliates. Thus UFW pickets will no longer urge shoppers to bypass stores that sell non-UFW produce but, aided by AFL-CIO pickets, will only urge shoppers to bypass grapes and lettuce untouched by UFW hands. Whether the UFW will ever approach its former strength is doubtful. Chavez has antagonized too many workers. In Delano, California a group called the Agricultural Workers for Democratic Action has called for worker self-determination, an end to boycotts—and a pledge from the Teamsters that no interunion agreement would return them to the UFW.

■ The temporary success of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has inspired similar collusion among exporters of bauxite and copper. But the situation isn't really comparable. We use imported bauxite in aluminum production only because it is cheaper than domestic substitutes. If imported bauxite ceases to be cheap, or foreign sources cease to be reliable, we can easily mine our own low-grade bauxites (laterites). U.S. production of refined copper has increased faster than consumption and far exceeds the combined output of the four biggest copper exporters. We import only about 9 per cent of our copper needs. If necessary, aluminum can usually be substituted for copper, tea for coffee, coal for oil, neoprene for rubber, and so on. The exporting cartels would be well advised not to press their advantages too far.

■ You can tell a kook by his cracks. And there were plenty of both showing a week or so ago at the University of Chicago when Edward Banfield, professor of public policy at the University of Pennsylvania and one

November

Be a philosopher: if we should lose,
Sure, we'll be saddled with Kennedy's views.
Humphrey and Javits will jaw by the hour;
Case will make faces at Barry and Tower.
Spending will grow to gargantuan size;
Taxes will rise with the pies in the skies.
After this liberal orgy is done,
That's when conservatives ought to have fun.

W. H. VON DREELE

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of the country's foremost authorities on urban problems, tried to impart some of his knowledge to the future-oriented students. An invading group of present-oriented types, including some SDSers from Wayne State, broke up the lecture with a demonstration that lasted over an hour. They assaulted faculty members, kicked over the lectern, unfurled a banner proclaiming "Racist Banfield wanted for genocide," and demanded that the University grant speaking rights to "opponents of racism." The demonstrators objected primarily to Banfield's book, *The Unheavenly City*, published in 1970. At the University of Chicago . . . Very disappointing, given the no-nonsense reputation of President Levy.

■ Rip Van Winkle would think someone was pulling his leg. A carefully chosen commission of 26 Lutheran and Catholic scholars has declared their consensus that papal primacy in the church is not, in itself, a "barrier to reconciliation" of their faiths. The commission cautioned, "We do not wish to understate our remaining disagreements." Still one wonders at the meaning of remarks like "we have concluded that traditional sharp distinctions between divine and human institutions are no longer useful." Does "are no longer useful" mean "were never valid"? If so, the commission's work seems to be directed to the Protestantizing, in a gentle and conservative way, of the Catholic Church. If the phrase means merely "obstruct the path of reunion," then the remark is trivial, since the primary desire of every believer is to belong not to a unified church but to the true one, which is after all the reason for the distinction between divine and merely human institutions.

■ A stroll through Xerox's *Comprehensive Dissertation Index* suggests a dissertation topic for some budding Gloria Steinem: "An Analysis of the Woman's-Place-Is-in-Home-Economics Method of Choosing Dissertation Topics." Among the dissertations Xerox attributes to female scholars: "The Comparative Lifting Power of Magma from Fresh and Aged, Pasteurized, and Dehydrated Eggs When Used in Sponge Cake"; "Basic Distances in 100 Farm Homes for Preparing and Serving Food and Washing Dishes"; "Practices and Attitudes of Homemakers in Cleaning the Living Room"; "The Relative Importance of Various Factors in Maintaining the Whiteness of Laundered Fabrics."

■ Representative Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.) has been trying to shed some light in Congress on the nation's gastro-fiscal distress. He told his colleagues recently that federal revenues have mushroomed from $7 billion in 1940 to $232 billion in 1973 to an estimated $306 billion in fiscal 1975—a 44-fold increase in 35 years. In the same period, the federal debt has grown from $10.1 billion to $468.4 billion—a 46-fold increase in funds spent without being appropriated. Mr. Kemp's figures attracted little attention in Congress, which is at present considering 450 measures that will cost $851,363,307,000 by fiscal 1977 if enacted. It would take 2,332 years to squander this sum at the rate of $1 million a day, but the U.S. Congress may do it in three.

■ Ten days before the election, various public opinion polls in France indicated that Popular Front candidate François Mitterand would get 40 to 43 per cent in the first round on May 5 and that Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing will run slightly better than former Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas, with Giscard getting between 25 and 28 per cent. That will mean a runoff probably between Mitterand and Giscard, at which point, according to *France Soir*, Mitterand will be beaten by ten points or better. The prospects then are that France will be spared a Popular Front government with five to seven Communists in the cabinet, but also that the new president, whoever he is, will be steering a course away from Gaullism, an idea whose time, most Frenchmen would agree, has come, and gone.

■ The meeting of the Organization of American States in Atlanta was mostly a MEGO (remember MEGOs?—they are the "My Eyes Glaze Over" kind of stories), as such meetings tend to be. But there was one stir of interest: was the OAS going to drop the boycott of Cuba it began 12 years ago at the United States' instigation? Some members—notably Argentina, which makes trucks and other things that Cuba wants to buy—are pushing for an end to the boycott. But as of now, most members still think Castroism is aggressive.

■ Even the observers sent by the New York City Bar Association are inclined to believe that the Chilean junta's first open trials are being properly conducted. Instead of the Soviet-style show trials that some had expected—in which the issues are carefully limited by the prosecution, and the defense lawyers are just another team of prosecutors—these trials have allowed every relevant issue to be raised, including the constitutionality of the trials themselves. According to Chile's constitution the military can try only acts committed during a state of siege. The defendants contend that the state of siege began on September 11, 1973 and that political activity during Allende's regime is therefore outside the court's jurisdiction. The prosecutors contend that the state of siege began when the Allende government lost its legitimacy. Determining exactly when that was, and getting the opposition and foreign observers to agree, will be the court's first and most important job.

■ Last week, for the first time since Colombia ousted military dictator Augusto Rojas in 1957, minor, far left parties were permitted to field candidates in a presidential election. Their running was mostly symbolic, however: the Liberal candidate, Alfonso Lopez, won in a landslide anyway, and the Conservative candidate came in well ahead of the rest of the field; the strongest far left candidate, Maria Eugenia Rojas de Morena, daughter

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Senator Edward Kennedy has reaped a political mini-bonanza from his Moscow visit. The confused and contradictory news reports of his Moscow University appearance made one thing perfectly clear: he made the Soviet authorities so nervous they censored his remarks and hustled him away as soon as possible. Senator Kennedy has a public image (hard earned and richly deserved) as someone who is incapable of thinking gloomy thoughts about the Soviet Union. Indeed, he spent much time in Moscow assuring Soviet leaders that many Democrats disagree with Senator Henry Jackson's hardline anti-Soviet policies. But with the little commotion at the Moscow University lecture auditorium he gained a river of favorable publicity—favorable in that it makes him seem willing to make the Soviet authorities nervous. So his trip produced useful publicity of two sorts. The attentive liberal community knows he was busy flanking Jackson on the left while talking to Soviet leaders. And the general public image of the trip is of a young and spirited senator who got the Soviets in a tizzy. All in all it was the best use of a visit to Moscow since another young politician held a "kitchen debate" with Nikita Khrushchev at a trade fair exhibit. And certainly the Kennedy visit produced the headline of the week: "Kennedy Asks Truth in Russia."

■ In four of the five special congressional elections this year the Republican candidates have run, on average, 17 points behind the 1972 Republican showing in those districts. If all Republicans run this badly in the November elections, more than 100 GOP members will be turned out of office. Last winter, before the current wave of special elections, Senator Barry Goldwater suggested that any Republican who won by less than 60 per cent of the vote in the last election would be in serious trouble this year. More than 70 GOP members got less than 60 per cent in 1972. There are 187 Republicans in the House today.

■ Although it is not clear why anyone would want the honor, William Saxbe, Attorney General IV, seems to be trying to win the title of Worst Attorney General of the Nixon Administration. He started on his first day on the job. A Washington policeman stopped his limousine for having an expired inspection sticker. Out hopped the Republic's chief law enforcement official, announcing, rather grandly and with no effect on the policeman, "I'm Saxbe. The Attorney General." The policeman cited him anyway. Since then Saxbe has been sharing with a large and growing public the contents, such as they are, of his mind, such as it is. Wednesday is the big day each week when he calls in the press and comments on current events. One week he ruminates about how "Jewish intellectuals" used to be "very enamored of the Communist Party" in the 1950s. The Jewish community was not amused. During the early negotiations between the Hearst family representatives and the Symbionese Liberation Army, Saxbe let fly with the suggestion that the FBI should storm the SLA hideout if it finds it. The FBI felt, and Mr. Hearst said, that the remark was "damned near irresponsible." But it was tame compared to Saxbe's recent statement that Patricia Hearst is "a common criminal" who, Saxbe is sure, was not forced to participate in the San Francisco bank robbery.

Saxbe's comportment is not without importance. The dignity of the law in general, and of the Justice Department in particular, is not what it might be. Attorney General I (John Mitchell) is on trial, Attorney General II (Richard Kleindienst) is reported to be plea bargaining with the Special Prosecutor over a matter of perjury, Attorney General III (Elliot Richardson) was universally respected—and was on the receiving end of the "Saturday Night Massacre" that outraged the nation last October 20.

■ Senator Charles Percy is going to spend $11 million over the next 30 months in his campaign for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination. The Senator is being remarkably open about his planning. A campaign management firm has prepared six loose-leaf volumes of planning strategy and no effort is being made to keep the strategy secret. On the contrary, the management people are giving full-scale briefings to numerous Republicans. The most interesting aspect of the evolving Percy strategy is the decision to bypass the first two primaries—in New Hampshire and Florida—in order to concentrate on Percy's home state of Illinois. The theory is that a victory there would give Percy momentum for a good showing in the next important primary, in Wisconsin.

—CATO

---

of General Rojas, got less than 10 per cent of the vote. President-elect Lopez is a leftist in the mold of Australia's Gough Whitlam. His major concerns are unemployment, inflation, and the distribution of wealth; he favors permitting divorce and civil marriage. In foreign policy, he attacks the U.S. (although unlike Mrs. Moreno he has not threatened to expropriate foreign firms) and will probably establish relations with Cuba and Red China.

■ England's new leftist National Union of Students has pledged to prevent any "fascist" or "racist"—by which it means, roughly, anyone to the right of Edward Heath—from speaking on university campuses. It has ordered university administrations to bar anyone the Union so designates under pain of disrupted meetings. Some members of campus Conservative groups have already been attacked and their posters ripped down. When asked about freedom of speech, Union president John Randall said, "One man's freedom is another man's persecution." Just so.

■ Mr. Fred Hubbard, a former Chicago alderman, has announced that he has no political plans. "I'm dead politically," Hubbard said, on leaving federal prison where he spent 14 months for embezzling more than $100,000 from a minority hiring program. Don't be modest, Fred, it sounds to us like you've got the makings of a *great* politician.

■ On the social consequences of state lotteries: Mr. Phillip Sutton, a coal miner from Uniontown, Pa. bought a lottery ticket on the way home from work. His wife

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signed the ticket, won $1 million ($50,000 a year for 20 years), and went to live in Miami with the first year's proceeds. Sutton is suing her for the million.

■ On taking the long view: "From out there on the moon, international politics look so petty. You want to grab a politician by the scruff of the neck and drag him a quarter of a million miles out and say, 'Look at that, you son of a bitch.' "—Edgar D. Mitchell, Apollo 14 astronaut.

■ Note in a Department of Transportation bulletin: "The shortest distance between two points is under construction."

November Chill in the Air

"No Republican should assume he has a safe seat any more." Thus, Republican Senator Robert Griffin, assistant minority leader, on April 17, the day after the defeat of Republican James Sparling in Michigan's 8th district's special House election. Barry Goldwater had said it earlier, by his dictum that a Republican candidate needed a 20 per cent normal lead in his district to win next November. Four out of five special House elections have driven the bad news home.

But the news is still worse. It is not only that good Republican candidates who would under happier circumstances have expected to win are going to be defeated. It is also the kind of Democrats who are, in many cases, going to be the winners.

Let us, as instance, briefly examine the winner in Michigan's 8th, J. Bob Traxler. One Republican state party official summed up a week or so before the vote: "Can you believe it? Can you by God believe it? Here we've got a damned good man, Jim Sparling, running a fine, hard-working campaign in a favorable district [it had not gone Democratic since 1932] against this fast talking, slow thinking, overaged flower child—and our man's back is against the wall." Traxler has lately taken to calling himself a "populist," but his is the demagogic pseudopopulism of the left flank of the McGovern army. Since 1963 he has been a member of the Michigan House of Representatives. During his infrequent attendance at legislative sessions, bills that have attracted his support are those proposing such measures as softer penalties for drug convictions and automatic no-fault divorce. He likes busing and is strong for easy abortion. He is quick with "into this" and "our forgotten generation" when his audience is young people; "right on," when it's black.

In a *Face the Nation* interview the Sunday after the election, Traxler analyzed the vote, showing that for the most part registered "Republicans voted Republican, the Democrats voted Democrat. The independent voters came out two to one for me, and I expect to enlarge on that independent vote in November, and I expect indeed to draw the support of many Republican voters." He was asked, "But there is some evidence that the Republicans didn't all come out and vote?" He answered, "In the most Republican part of the district they did come out and vote. In Huron County 68 per cent of the people that were registered turned out to vote, and even in that strong Republican county I received 40 per cent of the vote, which I think is an indication of what's going to happen this fall."

There is no convincing demonstration that he is wrong. The registration statistics recording throughout the country a heavy Democratic Party lead over the Republican Party, with a large and rapidly increasing number of independents, suggest the extent of the Republican defeat that Republicans voting Republican, Democrats voting Democrat, and independents two to one for the latter would bring. We may assume that Teddy Kennedy took enough time out on his Russian campaign swing to study the trend of those Michigan figures.

Getting It Straight

I didn't say he's Dracula,
As CBS implies:
Nor did I say he's Nero, as
George Meany certifies.
I never said he's Simon chas-
Ing Eva on the ice:
I simply said, if he should quit,
I think it would be nice.

W. H. VON DREELE

Bitter SALT

It has been clear for some while that the "interim strategic arms agreement" reached by the U.S. and the Soviet Union in SALT I was, from the U.S. standpoint, a mistake. It now looks more and more like a disaster.

The essence of the SALT I bargain may be summed up as follows: 1) The U.S. agreed to shelve its advanced missile defense technology, capable of protecting the Minuteman strategic missiles, in return for a Soviet acceptance of limits on further deployment of their primitive antimissile system, which is incapable of protecting either their missiles or their cities. 2) The U.S. granted the Soviet Union qualitative superiority in both number and throw weight of ICBMs on the assumption that a) U.S. ICBMs, with their multiple and more efficient warheads and their more accurate guidance devices were qualitatively superior to Soviet missiles, b) the Soviet Union could not, or would not choose to, close this qualitative gap for a lengthy period of time, and c) before that period ended the U.S. and the Soviet Union would have come to a mutually satisfactory permanent arms agreement.

The U.S. estimate of both Soviet capabilities and

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Soviet intentions was altogether incorrect. Keeping formally within the very flexible framework assigned to the Soviet Union by SALT I, Moscow has been carrying through a development program that Secretary of Defense Schlesinger described a couple of weeks ago as "staggering in size and depth." Two very powerful new ICBMs (SSX-18 and SSX-19) have been successfully tested and two others are about ready, plus a new shorter-range missile. All five are able to handle four to six independently targeted warheads as against three on the U.S. Minuteman. The newly developed "cold launch" technique allows Moscow to replace their 1,000 single warhead SS-11 missiles and 300 SS-9s with the new MIRVed missiles without violating SALT I rules concerning silos.

These developments wipe out the qualitative superiority on which the U.S. relied and enable the Soviet Union to achieve in a relatively near future a vast superiority in warhead power and number. The new generation of SALT-sprung Soviet missiles could launch about four times as many warheads as the U.S. missiles, with a total weight of more than ten million pounds as against a U.S. two million.

The U.S. not only has no developed hardware to counterbalance these Soviet developments, but no serious program beyond early research stages. In the talks preliminary to SALT II, including those recently held in Moscow by Secretary Kissinger, the Soviet spokesmen, from their position of mounting superiority, have demanded a whole set of new U.S. concessions, including: liquidation of the B-1 supersonic bomber and the Trident missile programs, and curtailed arming of land and carrier based aircraft with nuclear bombs.

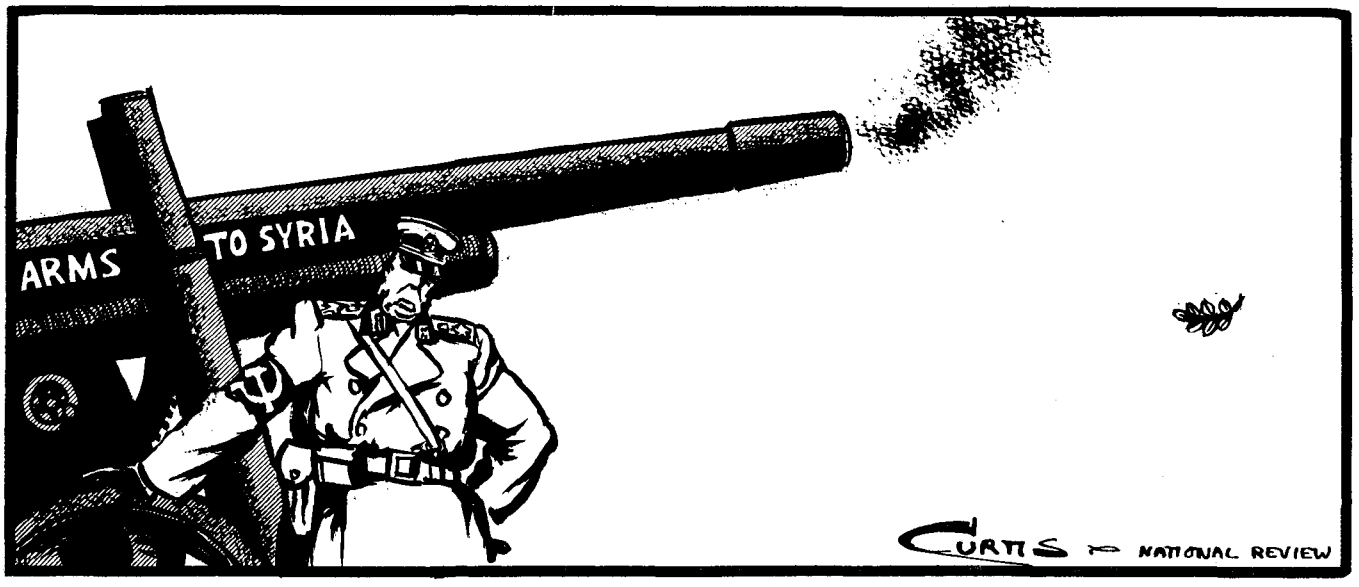
In a recent issue, the authoritative *Aviation Week & Space Technology* summed up the bitter prospect: "The Soviets have maneuvered the Nixon Administration over a strategic barrel in SALT I, and now they intend to roll it as hard as they can. . . . [Less than two years after SALT I] this country finds itself being pushed toward grim alternatives—yielding permanent strategic weapons superiority to the USSR or embarking on a huge new multibillion-dollar ICBM technology development and deployment program. . . . None of this could have transpired except in the atmosphere of deep secrecy and deception which the Nixon Administration has created. Even now, White House satraps are angry that details of the Soviets' great missile developments and their harsh SALT II demands have reached the Congress, the press, and the American people, whose safety is at stake. President Nixon will feel the hard pinch of SALT when he goes to Moscow in June. But the American people will feel it long after he fades from the political scene, and they will have to expend a vast amount of sweat, treasure, and perhaps blood to regain what so naively was negotiated away at SALT."

Double Digit Inflation

The current economic debacle should have taught us, at least, that inflation provides no lasting solution to high unemployment rates. Yet many are urging the Federal Reserve to repeat once more the familiar mistake of aborting a mild recession by flooding the economy with new money. The worry is, of all things, that people aren't spending enough to buy everything at inflated prices. "Despite the weakness in the economy," complains *Washington Post* columnist Hobart Rowen, "there is a do or die battle by the Federal Reserve against inflation, wielding the tight money weapon. Yet this weapon has failed before, as recently as 1970, when it led to higher unemployment and higher prices."

When people have made plans on the assumption that inflation will continue, there is no way of slowing the inflation down without causing some layoffs and business failures. Thus, there was a minor recession in 1970 (the mildest on record), but increases in the consumer price index *did* decline from over 6 per cent in the first half of 1970 to 3.8 per cent in the first half of 1971.

One dislocation that is avoidable is the flow of money out of mortgages and stocks. This arises not because



"Darned dove kept crowding me!"

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Do you have a

- ☐ MOTHER'S DAY—*Hurry Up!*
- ☐ FATHER'S DAY
- ☐ GRADUATION
- ☐ BIRTHDAY
- ☐ MAN IN THE SERVICE
- ☐ YOU NAME IT...

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money is "tight"—a 10.5 per cent loan during a 10.8 per cent inflation is absolutely free—but because savings institutions are legally forbidden to compete with bonds, notes, Treasury bills, etc. by offering comparable interest rates. The stock market has been similarly hurt by controls on dividends, which make corporate and government securities even more attractive. Recognizing the bargain of borrowing at a real rate of zero, commercial and industrial concerns are still breaking borrowing records. This baffles economic journalists, who are apparently tricked by inflation.

Because interest rates include a premium for expected inflation, they are no measure of the "tightness" of monetary policy. In fact, the money supply grew at a generous 7.5 per cent in the last quarter of 1973, dropped in January, and surged at a 12.9 per cent rate in February. If the Fed tried to lower interest rates by making money even more plentiful, that would just increase inflation and ultimately drive nominal interest rates still higher.

Every peacetime inflation has begun with a vigorous effort to "stimulate" the economy at the first sign of slack. A renewed burst of inflation, starting from the current two-digit plateau, would put us well on the way to joining the ranks of the banana republics.

Rodino's First Blunder?

Representative Peter Rodino, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has never, to put it delicately, been a man of towering stature in Congress. For years he labored, or at least subsisted, under the large shadow of his predecessor, Representative Emanuel Celler of New York. Rodino's once largely Italian New Jersey congressional district has in recent years become increasingly black, and in a lurching way Rodino's voting record has responded. A fair characterization of it at the present time would be liberal-eccentric, viz., his vote *against* the confirmation of Gerald Ford as Vice President. When the Judiciary Committee began its impeachment deliberations under his guidance, therefore, a debacle seemed to many the most likely prospect.

Rodino, however, grasped the fact that his prime political task would be to prevent the fragmentation of the Committee along partisan lines, and this he has until now accomplished with no little skill. To be sure, he has been substantially aided in this effort by the tactics of the White House, which appear to have two principal aspects. The first has been to delay as long as possible the turning over of evidence requested. The present subpoena for the 42 tapes was issued—by a lopsided bipartisan vote—only after two previous requests had produced nothing. The second, or reserve, White House tactic appears to be the option of provoking a showdown with the Committee, and if necessary facing the prospect of impeachment, over the formal issue of executive privilege. The calculation may be that if impeachment is fought on that issue, the White House would be in a relatively stronger tactical position than if it turned centrally on the substance of the various charges.

It is in this context that the Rodino Committee may have made its first notable tactical blunder. The subpoena for the 42 tapes had a deadline of Thursday, April 25 (since extended to April 30 at White House request). On Monday, April 22, however, it was revealed that the Committee had requested yet another batch of tapes and documents relating to Watergate and such matters as the rise in milk prices. As many as 40 additional tapes are said to be involved. This new sweeping request, issued before final settlement of the first, and as usual leaked to the press, created the appearance at least of an effort to sandbag the White House by creating additional headlines, implying the existence of still further damaging evidence. If this is the general public impression, it will be the first time that the White House has been substantially aided by a Committee blunder.

Kissinger's Canals

Canals are not my cup of tea;
I much prefer the open sea,
But I'm amazed how Henry runs
The Panama and Suez ones.
The former, he just gave away;
We're dredging Suez every day
(For free, of course: don't ask me why)
While Russian flattops float nearby.
I know his rep is pretty big,
And I don't want to be a pig,
But his approach to each canal
Is just as Frivolous as Sal.

W. H. VON DREELE

Solzhenitsyn v. Sakharov

It is a debate on the grand scale between the two Soviet dissidents, carried on with sublime disdain for the political leaders in the Kremlin who wield the concrete power. Its subject is nothing less than the future direction of Soviet society. The debate, moreover, though its particulars are specific to the present Soviet circumstance, as the two great men see it, also has the classic contours of the traditionalist-modernist argument that has been going on in the West and in an ambivalent Russia since the onset of the Enlightenment. Reading these two Russians, one thinks of Burke *v.* Paine, Coleridge *v.* Bentham, Southey *v.* Macaulay, Dostoyevsky *v.* Turgenev, and Naphta *v.* Settembrini in Mann's *The Magic Mountain.* From this perspective, the very presence of the Solzhenitsyn-Sakharov debate is spiritually bracing. They are no longer bothering to argue with the claptrap that passes for political discourse under the Marxist dispensation. They have joined the great dialogue of Western culture.

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That Seatbelt Ignition/Interlock System

A safety system designed to reduce injuries and save lives. Mandatory on all 1974 cars. (Unless air bag equipped.)

1. Get in your car.
2. Fasten your lap/shoulder harness.

A. If you have a front seat passenger, his seatbelts must be fastened also, or the car will not start.

B. If you have a package, handbag, briefcase, etc., weighing 25 lbs. or more, and have space only in the front seat, place the object on the front seat, and *then* buckle the passenger-side belt.

C. If you have a dog weighing 25 lbs. or more occupying the passenger seat, buckle the passenger-side belt *before* attempting to start car.

D. If the passenger-side belt is already buckled when you add the package, dog, or passenger, unbuckle, then rebuckle the belt before attempting to start car.

3. Start your car.

A. If your car won't start, try unbuckling and rebuckling your belt (and your passenger's) to be sure the buckle was fully fastened.

B. If that fails, turn the ignition key to "ON," then get out of your car and raise the hood. Press the bypass switch mounted on the fire wall to "START." Close the hood, get back in your car, buckle up, and turn your ignition all the way as in normal starting.

C. If your car stalls, *do not turn the ignition to "OFF" position.* That way you can keep trying to start your car as often as necessary without leaving the car.

D. If you accidentally turn the ignition key to "OFF," turn it back to "ON," unbuckle, get out of the car, open the hood, press the bypass switch again for another "free" start. (Incidentally, if the bypass switch is taped down, the action will be detected in the switch and canceled.)

4. Drive your car.

A. If your dog is on the floor when you begin driving the car, and then jumps on the seat and the passenger-side belt is unbuckled, a buzzer will sound. Stop the car and buckle the belt.

B. In a somewhat rare situation when driving over a very rough road, you may be bounced about in your seat. Should your engine be stopped, remain buckled in your seat and restart your car. A "bounce-time" delay (designed primarily to allow you to straighten your clothing after buckling up) also allows a restart in this situation.

(Excerpted from *Seat Belt System Owner's Guide*)

Briefly: last year Solzhenitsyn sent a letter to the Soviet political leaders which went ignored until it was later published. He argued that the three mortal dangers facing Russia are war with China, industrial pollution of the environment, and the moral exhaustion of the Russian people. His prescription was radical: 1) abandonment of Marxism as the official state philosophy; 2) repudiation of support for revolutionary movements and client states throughout the world; 3) abandonment of hegemony in Eastern Europe and of the forced incorporation of nationalities within the Soviet state; 4) agrarian reform to end the grotesquerie of the collective farm system; 5) a major effort to develop the Siberian northeast, though not through heavy industrialization, and with due attention to the environment; 6) economic isolationism, with resources no longer sold abroad; 7) disarmament within the bounds posed by the Chinese threat; 8) government by law, release of political prisoners, civil freedoms; 9) reemphasis on religious orthodoxy and the family in accord with the prerevolutionary Russian tradition; 10) retention, not very specifically spelled out, of some authoritarian aspects of the state, if necessary.

Replying in a lengthy letter made public this month, Sakharov agrees with 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8. He makes the important claim that Solzhenitsyn overestimates the role of ideology in Soviet policy. Marxism is a façade, says Sakharov, for the cynical desire merely to retain and extend state power. He rejects—and here is the nub—Solzhenitsyn's Siberian vision, his nationalism, isolationism, distrust of technology, and his hospitality to at least a degree of authoritarianism. Some key Sakharov points:

1. "I consider the democratic path of development the only favorable one for any country."

2. "I consider that Solzhenitsyn overestimates the role of the ideological factor in present-day Soviet society. Hence his belief that the replacement of Marxism with a healthy ideology, which he evidently envisions Orthodoxy to represent, would save the Russian people."

3. "Is intensive and highly productive development of the vast northern expanses possible now in the circumstances of present underpopulation, severe climate, and lack of roads, if this development were to be conducted solely with the economic and technical resources of our own country in which all reserves are so strained and will continue to be strained? I am certain that it is impossible; therefore, rejection of international cooperation (with the United States, West Germany, Japan, France, Italy, Britain, India, and other countries) in this development . . . would mean a postponement, intolerable from the standpoint of the problems of all mankind, in developing these expanses . . . there is not a single important key problem that can be solved on a national scale."

4. "Our country cannot exist in economic and scientific-technical isolation . . . I object . . . to the striving to fence off our country from the allegedly pernicious influence of the West."

5. "Solzhenitsyn and other publicists of like spirit, it

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seems to me, greatly exaggerate the role of industrial giantism in giving rise to the difficulties of today's world."

Sakharov, thus, is technocratic, international, rationalistic, democratic, modern. He is concerned with "problem solving." Solzhenitsyn is religious, particularistic, hierarchical, traditionalist. His focus is on the good of the soul. Sakharov often scores in the debate, as in his critique of the utopian features of Solzhenitsyn's Siberian project. But Solzhenitsyn knows the nature of the modern disease. When the spiritual roots of the community are torn up, the twin demons of ideology and nihilism will torment the resulting desert.

Cultural Barometer

Some highlights from the National Book Awards presentations at Lincoln Center April 18: John Clive, who won the History award for *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian*, seemed like the sort of man Macaulay would have chosen to write about him—scholarly but not somber. "With the dead," he quoted from his subject, "there is no rivalry. In the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen. Cervantes is never petulant. Demosthenes never comes unseasonably. Dante never stays too long. No difference of political opinion can alienate Cicero. No heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet." And he added, "Neither Tory nor Quaker nor Lake Poet can enrage Macaulay." Isaac Bashevis Singer's graceful acceptance speech, read for him by his publisher, Robert Giroux (Singer was in Israel starting a new novel), praised his adopted country and said that only in America could a Yiddish writer get a *National* Book Award. (Singer's award in the Fiction category was for *A Crown of Feathers and Other Short Stories.*) Murray Kempton won the Contemporary Affairs award for his book on the New York trial of 21 Black Panthers, *The Briar Patch*; he spoke of the difficulty of writing books on contemporary affairs, the necessity of reflecting rather than just reporting, now that fashions change so quickly. By the time the trial was over, "the 'year of the black' was lost in prehistory."

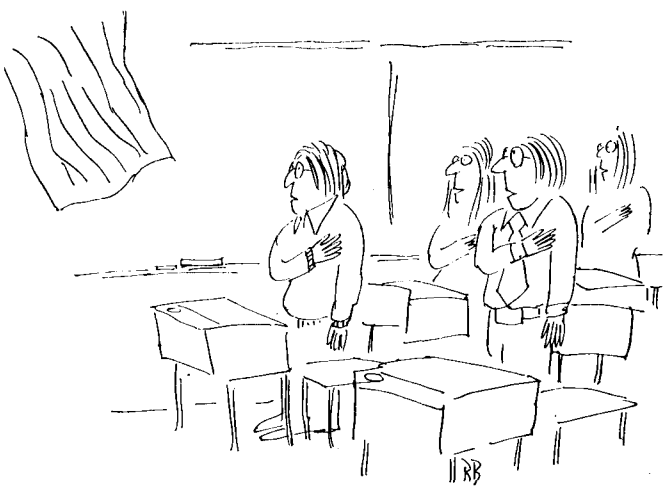
But these came later on. The evening had begun with a bumptious speech by movie critic Pauline Kael—whose *Deeper into Movies* won the Arts & Letters award—followed by a pompous speech by Douglas Day, author of *Malcolm Lowry: A Biography*, and the dual Poetry award. The first winner, Allen Ginsberg, did not come but sent Peter Orlovsky in his place. Orlovsky wore an orange beanie, orange and blue printed T-shirt, and blue jeans, and carried, for no apparent reason, a white duffle bag. For five minutes he screamed into the microphone a composition of Ginsberg's that denounced President Nixon for Vietnam war crimes and wound up saying a time will come when "our own vast police network"—the same network responsible for "the deliberate destruction of democracy in Chile"—"can enforce their will on public and poet alike." The other Poetry winner was Adrienne Rich. Her speech was not entirely her own: she had written it jointly with two other female nominees, and they had decided that whichever of them won the Poetry award would read it. Miss Rich claimed to speak "in the name of all the women whose voices have gone unheard in this patriarchal world." While she and her cohorts were pleased about the money that comes with the award—which they would use not for themselves but for all women—she denied that poetry can be thought of in the National Book Awards' "terms of patriarchal competition." She called on all women—"the poet, the housewife, the lesbian, . . . the grandmother, the prostitute, the waitress"—to join her in her "struggle for self-determination." Finally Thomas Pynchon (*Gravity's Rainbow*), who shared the Fiction award with Isaac Bashevis Singer, sent the comedian Irwin Corey ("The World's Foremost Authority") to accept it for him. Corey's anti-Nixon tirade, unlike Ginsberg's, at least had some funny one-liners. —LB

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

Recently I ran across the following quotation from a speech by John Stuart Mill in the British Parliament (quoted on p. xxxiii of Marshall Cohen's Introduction to *The Philosophy of J. S. Mill*):

"I never meant to say that the Conservatives are generally stupid. I meant to say that stupid people are generally Conservative. I believe that is so obviously and universally admitted a principle that I hardly think any gentleman will deny it. Suppose any party, in addition to whatever share it may possess of the ability of the com-



"I pledge allegiance to the flag, you know, of the United States of America, and to the Republic, you know, for which it stands . . ."

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munity, has nearly the whole of its stupidity, that party must, by the law of its constitution, be the stupidest party; and I do not see why honorable gentlemen should see that position at all offensive to them, for it ensures their being always an extremely powerful party."

Warm regards,
Dante Germino
Professor of Government and
Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia

■ Dear Mr. Buckley,

I always very much enjoy your linguistic prancing showing your vast and deep cultural resources, like for instance "l'homme etc., GENUS AMERICANUS," in your NATIONAL REVIEW of February 1 last, page 124 (seven lines from the bottom).

Now, I know that "genus" should be used with neuter gender, unless you kept Americanus to rime with it, making your ex cathedra definition smooth for the eyes of your admiring readers? Or perhaps you use Gallic vernacular?

Yours,
Argus

Dear Argus: Our thought here was that *genus Americanum* sounds kind of faggy. Cordially, —WFB

■ Editor
Commonweal Magazine
Dear Sir:

Concerning Mr. Robert Lekachman's review of my book *Four Reforms* (*Commonweal*, March 1, 1974), permit me one or two observations.

I am concerned only with the technical points. Says Lekachman: "The author's laborious 'proof' that poor states subsidize rich ones is based upon examination of federal grants-in-aid . . . If the Pentagon's far from inconsiderable spending were included, Buckley would have been comforted by the size of the funds flowing to poor Southern states in abiding testimonial to the political clout of Southern senators and congressmen." What a very heavy way to criticize something I did not say. I did say that there were anomalies. That, for instance, Indiana and Ohio "are the statistical victims in the game of federal redistribution." Ohio and Indiana are not Southern states. I then listed the 19 states that are in fact net beneficiaries of federal funds. And these include every Southern state.

Then Mr. Lekachman, in the apparently irresistible tradition of rejecting conservative analysis as really "unconservative," bounces on: "Welfare, says Buckley, is too expensive. The thing to do then is limit federal aid to those states whose per capita income falls below the national average." I cannot imagine a grosser misreading of what I wrote. Which was not that welfare is too expensive, but that welfare expenditures cannot rise in the decades ahead as they did in the decade just past, for the same reason that—let us say—*Commonweal* could not afford to increase its printing bill by 25 per cent per year for the next 20 years. But the observation that welfare expenses cannot rise indefinitely at the historical rate of the past decade was descriptive, unattached organically to my proposal, namely, that federal aid to wealthy states is an exercise in fiscal tautology and intellectual contempt for the ignorance of the citizenry. Mr. Lekachman says that "Buckley is manifestly uncomfortable with the masses of data he offers in evidence." I reply that the three statisticians and economists who read my manuscript were not made uncomfortable by it, but that I am made extremely uncomfortable by the opacity of Mr. Lekachman's reading of the simple text of my liberating book. Yours faithfully,

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Greetings! Your country has called upon you at this critical . . . Now that I have your attention, I again call upon you to rectify the grievous *faux pas* perpetrated upon the theopneustic pages of NATIONAL REVIEW. I must battologize: there is not, nor has there ever been, a language called "Mongolese" ["On the Right," March 1]. Please rectify this grave *lapis linguae*.

I did receive a card and form letter urging me to subscribe to *NR*, and calling me "an intelligent American." But I think you failed to calibrate the true extent of my sagacity, because I am already a faithful subscriber. If you will examine my epistle, you will see that I did insinuate that I was receiving *NR* on a regular basis.

Unmitigatedly yours,
Eric S. Olin
14 Florie Farm Rd.
Mendham, N.J. 07945

Hey. I like that "theopneustic" to describe *NR*, but getting "battologize" out of battologist is, well, a bit much; and it's *lapsus* (as in *calami*) not lapis (as in lazuli). Cordially, —WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Unfortunately your brilliant intellect is inside your head and does nothing for your male beauty. You are, shall we say, unhandsome. This misfortune does not confer the right to appear disheveled.

A decent respect for the opinions of mankind (of conservatism, if not B.B.) would require that you mitigate nature's failure where reasonably possible.

Toward that end, I enclose a pocket comb. If you ply the instrument faithfully I shall consider contribution toward a haircut.

Don't mention it!
Charles L. Murphy
Tarzana, Calif. 91356

Dear Mr. Murphy: I have combed my hair. What do I do now? Cordially, **—WFB**

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That's All for a While

Poor John Connally! Sure, he is not literally poor. He has plenty of money. He has so much of the stuff that one would not expect him to notice a mere $10,000 addition to his net worth. With his formidable financial base in Texas, it must be hard for him to avoid making $10,000 during a determined working day. It is also well known that he has friends in High Places, and that can be lucrative, too. Not long ago it used to be said of Herbert Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's personal attorney, that it cost you $10,000 just to get to talk with Mr. Kalmbach, and it didn't cost that much because the Kalmbach legal mind was especially sharp. It was Kalmbach's friends in High Places that made his price steep, and Mr. Connally's connections there are even better. That is one reason why some corporations have sought his participation on their boards of directors.

Still, poor John Connally!

The Iron Fence

One year ago, shortly after the April 30 speech—and the sacking of John Dean, John Ehrlichman, and H. R. Haldeman—and right as the Senate Watergate hearings were clanking into gear, the former Democratic governor of Texas formally joined the Republican Party. He was a symbol of the political realignment that was to be Mr. Nixon's legacy to the Party. The timing of his conversion was designed to help launch him into the hearts of Republican regulars, to whom he would be appealing soon enough. Big John brazenly coming aboard the good ship GOP at what people then thought must surely be its darkest hour. Little did they know. Little did John Connally know.

Poor John Connally! For a while last summer he served as a semi-demi-unofficial adviser to Mr. Nixon, operating out of a suite in the Mayflower Hotel a few blocks from the White House. He was unable to claim much turf from the full time aides—men like Mr. Connally's successor as Secretary of the Treasury, George Shultz (now departed), and Mel Laird (now departed) and Bryce Harlow (now departed)—who were on the scene, inside the Iron White House Fence. Soon Mr. Connally left Washington, returning to Texas to cultivate his many gardens, and perhaps make a little spending money.

Shrewd John Connally. He had embraced the GOP at the proper moment, and he had avoided Mr. Nixon's killing embrace. And in the subsequent months he has crisscrossed the nation speaking to Republican groups, exhorting them to keep the faith, assuring them that *they* were not guilty of anything, that the Party he is proud to be a new member of is clean as a hound's tooth. He has logged a horrid number of hours breathing the stale air of airplane cabins. He has forced down his throat wheelbarrows full of rubbery chicken and gummy rice. He has pulled from his throat an ocean of rhetoric, vigorous greetings to go with several hundred thousand handshakes. He has done all this just to get himself positioned as a —sorry, but it is this season's word, and I'm going to use it, just this once, to prove that I'm on duty and doing my job—"viable" candidate for the 1976 nomination.

Oh, God. All that chicken, stale air, speaking, handshaking, all that time spent away from his gardening, all, it would appear, for naught. Fairly or unfairly—and time *will* tell—his potential "viability" is going down with the ship. Poor John Connally!

It is not possible at this writing to guess with any confidence about whether Connally is heading for legal troubles because of his part—whatever it was—in the "milk scandal." But he probably is dead in the water, politically.

For those who have better things to do than keep straight all the details of the more peripheral Washington scandals, the bare bones of the "milk scandal" are these. In the spring of 1971, while Connally was Treasury Secretary and a Nixon intimate, the White House reversed an earlier policy decision and raised the price supports for milk. This decision meant a half billion dollars in added income—annually—for dairy farmers. Soon the representatives of the milk lobby, who had met several times with Connally and Nixon, began making good their promise of substantial contributions—many hundreds of thousands of dollars—to the Nixon reelection campaign.

$10,000 Rumors

At some point the dairy people gave $10,000 to a Texas attorney, Jake Jacobsen, who considers Connally his best friend. Jacobsen, according to rumors, was to pass this on to Connally, either for him to distribute as campaign contributions to deserving congressmen, or for him to pocket as a payoff for his help in getting the milk price support increased. Connally denies ever taking money from Jacobsen. The story currently leaking into the press is that Jacobsen, who already has been indicted for perjury in connection with the grand jury investigation of the handling of the $10,000, is prepared to testify (in exchange for leniency) that Connally pocketed the $10,000 but tried to return it when Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski (a Texan Connally pushed for the job of Special Prosecutor) began investigating the flow of milk money. There are a lot of sub-rumors about how Connally tried to get the $10,000—in bills with suitably old serial numbers—back into Jacobsen's safe deposit box before the FBI arrived to open it. Whether any or all of the damaging rumors are true will be known, in time. What is clear now is that Connally has been sucked into the swamp of scandal and he will not emerge spic and span and viable.

As the Jacobsen story was breaking, Connally was still breathing stale airplane air, en route to Bangor, Maine, to shake more hands and deliver more exhortations to the faithful of the Party he is happy to call home. But up in Bangor a move was afoot to "disinvite" him. The move failed and Connally ate, spoke, and departed, saying on the way out that he had always planned the Bangor trip to be pretty much the end of his hectic politicking "for a while." □

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JAMES BURNHAM

Hello Everybody

The Protracted Conflict

In mid-April Westar, the first U.S. domestic communications satellite, was launched into geostationary orbit on behalf of its owner, Western Union, a few months behind a Canadian predecessor. Westar will be followed by several more Western Union satellites as well as others to be operated by AT&T and General Telephone (separately or in partnership) and by RCA. Through strategically located ground stations the communications range of these sets of orbiting electronic relays will cover all 50 states, plus much of Mexico, the Caribbean, and Canada. Their circuits will be handling computers and other business and scientific machines, telephone, Telex, radio, and TV. Costs will be substantially below those of terrestrial cables.

For several years Comsat's satellites have been providing thousands of circuits for intercontinental communications. Several nations in addition to the U.S. and Canada—India, Brazil, and Japan at the top of the list—will soon have a communications satellite over their territory. By next year Comsat expects to be operating Marisat, a maritime ship-shore communications system using two satellites positioned over the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Communications satellite technology is advancing with explosive rapidity. The Comsat systems link satellite relays to terrestrial lines through elaborate and expensive ground stations. The ground stations needed for the generation of domestic satellites now going into operation are cheaper and simpler. Within a few years, ordinary TV community antenna systems will be able to receive satellite TV broadcasts. Within a decade at most, a small gadget that is already developed will enable a home TV set to receive the satellite broadcasts direct. At that stage the electronic communications revolution will have brought into being Marshall McLuhan's global village.

This cozy vision has evoked more dismay than cheer in the breasts of the world's rulers. A week before Westar's launching the Special United Nations Outer Space Committee adjourned after what delegates described as "two weeks of fruitless debate." No agreement was reached on anything, so "the opposing points of view" will be referred to the summer meeting of the full parent space committee.

The subject of the fruitless debate has been the problem posed by satellite communications systems, and most particularly the problem of what to do about this direct satellite television monster that has moved in without waiting for a by your leave. In summary: who is going to be permitted to communicate what to whom?

Danger, Freedom Ahead

The respective positions would have been easily predictable. The Soviets demand total control over any communication that penetrates or could penetrate their space. The Anglo-Saxons want a more or less free flow in all directions, with the only restrictions made on a technological basis—assigning bands, protecting other forms of broadcast, ensuring good reception, etc. Other nations run the gamut between. Sweden and Canada suggest, in their customary way, various murky compromises between freedom and control.

Some of the Third World nations find themselves in a puzzling bind. Indonesia, for example, is anxious to get direct satellite TV going as soon as possible, judging it a promising means to tie more closely together the 13,000 separate islands that constitute Indonesia; and India sees the same potential for its tens of thousands of villages that are virtually incommunicado. But India and Indonesia are much worried about, as the Indonesian delegate put it, "the potentially harmful and destructive effects to national sovereignty that might result from an uncontrolled flow of information."

In 1972 the Soviet government introduced a draft agreement to guarantee the right of every government (meaning, specifically, Communist governments) to control or blot out any communication reaching its turf. With the new generation of satellites, and the others soon to come, control becomes a more and more difficult technological as well as political and legal problem. Already, of course, TV programs from neighboring countries are accessible to the border regions.

The Communists propose such technological control methods as: compulsory directional antennas for transmitting stations, oriented away from foreign parts; power reduction in border areas; incommensurate frequencies in neighboring countries; scrambling or coding devices; beam restraints on the orbiting satellites. On the politico-legal side Moscow demands: "prior consent" and binding commitments before direct satellite broadcasts could be conducted; prohibition of all broadcasts that involve "interference in internal affairs," propaganda for war, racism, fascism, or militarism, interference with "true friendship between nations," "undermining the foundations of the local civilization, culture, way of life, or tradition." Moscow asserts the further right to jam any unwanted broadcast, since communications reaching over a border is subject to "prior consent." (At one committee meeting, the U.S. delegate, in his enthusiasm doubtless forgetting the censorial prerogatives of the FCC, rejected the whole idea that there could be an "illegal broadcast" except insofar as it interfered technically with other transmissions.) Another Soviet hangup is over broadcasts including advertising, apparently because they might disturb Soviet consumers.

The Silence of Space

According to the principles of the Soviet proposals, no transmission *capable* of reaching country X could be made from country Y without the prior consent of country X. By this standard a satellite relay of the arrival of Solzhenitsyn in West Germany would have been *verboten*.

This direct satellite television matter is going to be a hard nut to crack during discussion of item 3 ("Freedom of movement of persons and ideas") at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. Orbiting communication satellite systems don't seem to conform to the canons of Leninist dialectic. If there is no way to make them behave, it may become necessary to blast them out of the sky. □

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FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON WIRIYAMU

The Portuguese Atrocity That Didn't Happen

Used to be that a story in the Times *of London needed no further authentication. Mr. Kilpatrick thinks he knows why the* Times *printed this story, but has failed to discover the wheres, whens, and hows of it*

JAMES J. KILPATRICK

On JULY 10, 1973 the *Times* of London carried a long page one story under the headline, "Portuguese Massacre Reported by Priests." The story created a considerable sensation at the time. Subsequently it became something of a journalistic *cause célèbre*. In February of 1974, the British Press Council, having heard complaints against the *Times*, handed down a decision dismissing the complaints, but the Council's decision was rather less than a ringing exoneration.

The matter merits reflection. In my own view, for whatever it may be worth, the *Times* blundered in its publication of a story that certainly was fabricated in part, and quite probably was fabricated in whole. But the particular article of July 10, 1973 has an importance beyond the editorial judgment exhibited by Foreign Editor Louis Heren and his associates. It illustrates, or so it seems to me, the kind of double standard that is so often applied by press and by politicians not only in African affairs but in foreign affairs generally.

Let me deal first with the story itself.

The article carried the byline of Father Adrian Hastings. In an italic introduction, the editors identified Father Hastings with the College of the Ascension, Birmingham, England and noted that he "based this article on reports received from Spanish missionaries working in Mozambique."

After three paragraphs of general denunciation of the Portuguese for a "whole series of massacres" in 1971, each of them said to rival Mylai in ghastliness, Father Hastings got to the meat of his story. What he purported to present was "the full account of the Wiriyamu massacre, carefully and secretly compiled by missionaries in the area."

"In spite of the difficulties which have arisen in making a complete list of the names of the victims of the massacre in the village of Wiriyamu," said the author, "the sources of the detailed information we have collected give us the right to maintain the affirmation that there were more than 400 victims.

"From our search we can vouch for the following facts: on the afternoon of December 16, 1972 the village of Wiriyamu was the victim of a military attack on the part of the armed forces."

According to Father Hastings, Portuguese troops first bombarded the village, then invaded it with ferocity. Once inside the village the soldiers started ransacking the huts, and this was followed immediately by the massacre of the people.

"One group of soldiers got together a part of the people in a courtyard to shoot them. The villagers were forced to sit in two groups, the men on one side and the women on the other, so that they could more easily see those who were being shot. By means of a signal a soldier indicated whom he wished, either man or woman.

"The indicated person stood up, separating himself from the group. The soldier shot him. The victim fell dead. This procedure brought about the largest number of victims. Many children at the breast and on the backs of their mothers were shot at the same time as the mothers."

Father Hastings then interrupted his narrative to name 86 persons who were shot: Dzedzereke (adult man), Mafita (adult woman), Kuguniwa (adolescent), and so on. Resuming his account, he reported:

"One woman called Vaina was invited to stand up. She had her child in her arms, a boy of nine months. The woman fell dead with a bullet shot. The child fell with his mother and sat by her. He cried desperately and a soldier advanced to stop him crying. He kicked the boy violently, destroying his head. 'Shut up, dog,' the soldier said.

"The prostrate child cried no more and the soldier returned with his boot covered with blood. His fellow soldiers acclaimed the deed with a round of applause. 'Well done, you are a brave man.' It was the beginning of a macabre football match."

According to Father Hastings, 34 persons were killed by setting fires to their huts. As the massacre continued, soldiers found a woman named Zostina who was pregnant.

"They asked her the sex of the child inside her. 'I don't know,' she replied. 'You soon will,' they said. Immediately they opened her stomach with knives, violently extracting

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her entrails. Showing her the fetus, which throbbed convulsively, they said: 'Look, now you know.' Afterwards the woman and child were consumed in the flames."

Father Hastings concluded his article by reporting that many persons were taken outside the village and killed. On the following day, by his account, a number of corpses of children from 11 to 15 years old were found at the Nyantawatawa River. The bodies, he said, were totally mutilated. "There were no survivors to explain what happened," though, remarkably, "taking advantage of the darkness, which fell rapidly, some victims managed to escape death by flight."

VERY WELL. That is a fair summary, I submit, of an article that ran to more than 40 column inches. It is a truism of journalism that the elements of a news story are the who, what, where, when, why, and how. What can be said of the elements here?

So far as the story itself is concerned, the elements are quite clear. Indeed, as Father Hastings himself would insist a few weeks later, the elements were "extremely precise." This was a "systematic genocidal massacre" conducted by Portuguese troops in the village of Wiriyamu on the afternoon of December 16, 1972. In his first article the village was located by inference "in the Mucumbura area." It was the shocking numbers that made the story sensational news: "*There were more than 400 victims.*" Father Hastings was confident that "no comparable episode" can be found on record in the history of twentieth century colonialism in Africa.

But there were external elements of who, when, and why that should have raised alarm signals to the editors of the *Times*.

For one thing, who was Father Hastings, and who were the Spanish priests, members of the Burgos missionary order, who were his informants? By the summer of 1973, Father Hastings had become well known—at least to the Portuguese government—as a militant anti-Portuguese propagandist. Nearly 20 years before, at the time of the Goa affair, he had written articles strongly denounced in Lisbon. In January of 1974, the *Times*' religious correspondent, Clifford Longley, described Father Hastings as "a man passionately and angrily committed against the Portuguese colonial machine and all its trappings."

The Burgos priests are identified with an order known to be in complete sympathy with the guerrillas and in complete hostility to the Portuguese administration in Mozambique. On July 21 of last year, the Madrid correspondent of the *Washington Post* interviewed several of the Burgos fathers. "We side with the blacks," they told him, "and as Christian missionaries our duty is to denounce the white colonialist murderers."

At the time of the alleged massacre of December 16, 1972 two priests identified by Father Hastings were in prison in Lourenço Marques. Father Hastings was then in England. The story published by the *Times* in July 1973 was thus on its face neither a first-hand account nor even a second-hand account. It was at the very least a third- or fourth-hand account, put together by missionary priests from conversations with others.

It is unclear from the material available to me quite how their account, written in Spanish, happened to be in Madrid in June of 1973 when Father Hastings went to Spain for an ecumenical meeting at Salamanca. In any event, according to a followup letter from Father Hastings that appeared in the *Times* on July 16, 1973, he learned of the documents during a luncheon with the Burgos fathers and asked for copies.

Father Hastings, by his own account, received the documents at the end of June. "They were all in Spanish, a language I do not read easily." Having arranged a translation, Father Hastings telephoned the *Times* on July 6 to discuss the proposed article, and on July 9 delivered a text to Mr. Heren. The *Times* immediately went to press with the story in its edition of July 10.

Remarkably—at least it seems remarkable to me—publication of the Hastings article, depicting the Portuguese as genocidal monsters, fell precisely one week before a state visit to London by the Portuguese prime minister, Marcello Caetano.

I myself have been a newspaper editor, and insert a personal observation. It would have crossed my mind, I believe, taking all the circumstances into account, that Father Hastings and his informants were not objective or neutral observers; they were in fact partisans in a cause. It would have crossed my mind that there was something fishy in the timing of this extraordinary offering for publication, seven months after the purported event, and right on the eve of Dr. Caetano's visit. It would have further crossed my mind that my newspaper might be used for purposes of propaganda.

I used to keep in my newspaper office, metaphorically speaking, an 11-foot pole. It was for use in handling things I would not touch with a ten-foot pole. Reading the grisly details of Father Hastings' account, down to the convulsive throbbing of the fetus, I believe it would have occurred to me that this was an 11-foot tale. Evidently none of these doubts crossed the minds of the editors of the *Times*. They went instantly to press.

The story created an uproar. Other British and South African papers immediately dispatched correspondents to the Tete province of Mozambique. The story received prominent play in such leading American journals as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. By any yardstick, the willful slaughter of 400 innocent civilians was news. The correspondents thus raced off in search of Wiriyamu.

Bruce Loudon of the *Daily Telegraph* was at the head of the pack. On July 13 he had reached the settlement of Màgoé Velho, some 220 kilometers west of Tete. He was under the impression that Father Hastings had identified the Wiriyamu of the July 10 article as a hamlet half way between Mucumbura and Màgoé Velho on the Zambesi. The name Wiriyamu, Loudon reported, "does not exist on any map." Near Màgoé Velho, Loudon found a deserted hamlet known as "Mariano." He concluded it must be the place. As it turned out, this was a false trail, even though Mariano was hard by a river known as the "Yamatawatawa" which might have been the "Nyantawatawa" of the story.

The *Washington Post*, in a brief story on July 14, also

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conveyed the impression that the massacre "was alleged to have occurred in the area of Mucumbura near the Rhodesian border."

A day or so followed in which the correspondents threshed about. The *London Observer*'s man in Mozambique, Colin Smith, reported from Lourenço Marques on the 15th that "more details of the alleged massacre at Wiriyamu are becoming available here." Missionaries reportedly had been told that scores of corpses had been left to rot for several days. Reportedly the bishop of Tete, Dom Augusto César Ferreira da Silva, had told the local military commander that if the military did not detail a burial party, "I will get on my bicycle, take a spade, and bury them myself." When the bishop was questioned by the *Guardian*, however, he flatly denied any such involvement. "Those priests who suggest that I have knowledge of this," he said, "are being dishonest."

On July 15, the *Observer* provided a story based upon "fresh evidence from an Italian priest." This priest had talked to Spanish missionaries, who had talked to purported eyewitnesses who described a related massacre at Chowala, said to be near Wiriyamu. The *Washington Post*, picking up the *Observer*'s story, gave it a five-column, 60-point headline: "New Mozambique Atrocities Charged."

Meanwhile, Father Hastings had flown to Madrid, conferred with his informants, and returned to London. He was now able to pinpoint the elusive Wiriyamu as "a village within the triangle made up by the Zambesi, its tributary the Mazoe River, and the Tete-Beira road." He said Wiriyamu was "about 25 kilometers south of the town of Tete" and had "something of the character of a dormitory village." Its population was of mixed origin, "but its language was of course ChiNyungwe."

Thus fortified, the correspondents searched anew. They concluded that Father Hastings, who has never set foot in Mozambique, must have meant the Luenha River, not the Mazoe. Within that triangle, east of the Tete-Beira road, buried in the desolate and barren hills, they found a deserted hamlet known as "Wiliamo." This, they concluded, must have been the scene of whatever happened on December 16, 1972.

Among the visiting correspondents was Wilf Nussey, editor of the *Johannesburg Star*'s African News Service. On July 16 he filed a dispatch, picked up by Reuter, saying that the Hastings charges were "not proven" and "improbable." The village, about eight miles south of Tete, could not possibly have housed 400 persons. (In passing, it should be said that a village of 400 persons would rank as a good-sized town in this area of western-central Mozambique.) "There was not a sign of violence other than burning," Nussey reported. He could find "no bullet holes, no cartridge cases, no bits of grenades, no human bones or bits of clothing—nothing like that." Nussey described the matter as "this whole overblown, hearsay affair." The Reuter article, based on his story, was available to the *Washington Post*, but the *Post* did not use it. Instead, the *Post* carried on July 16 a long story by James MacManus of the *Manchester Guardian*, datelined Wiliamo, under the head of "Mozambique Site Yields Clues."

This was a remarkably ambivalent headline. If a persistent reader read far enough in the MacManus story, the reader would have learned of "clues," to be sure, but not of clues to a massacre. MacManus located this hamlet of 14 mud huts about 12 miles south of Tete, two miles off the Tete-Beira road. This was what MacManus reported in the tenth and eleventh paragraphs of his story:

> A careful search of the ruins revealed no sign of a massacre in the shape of spent cartridges, bullet holes in the trees around, or signs of recent burials. If this was the village referred to by Father Hastings, a number of other factors did not fit.
>
> The village was large by African standards, but even with five to a hut could not have held more than 100 people, as against the 400 mentioned in the massacre report. The names of the dead in the report had different tribal origins rather than stemming from the Nhungue tribe, who live in the Tete area.

(This same objection had been expressed earlier in the *Times*' letters column by an old Mozambique hand, M. A. Faul, who found Father Hastings' article "utterly incredible." Some of the names in the article, he said, were names from tribes in Rhodesia and Malawi, far removed from the Tete area. Mr. Faul also made the point, which others were to make, that if such a massacre of 400 persons had in fact occurred, the Communist-trained guerrillas of the Frelimo movement surely would have capitalized on the grisly incident. Frelimo spokesmen, questioned in Dar es Salaam following publication of the Hastings article, oddly had never heard of the affair.)

The *Post* on July 18 carried a further piece from MacManus, headlined "Smaller Mozambique Atrocities." This article, based upon an interview with an unidentified senior military officer in Tete, dealt with the officer's acknowledgment that Portuguese troops were guilty of atrocities in the Màgoé-Mucumbura area at some unspecified time.

On the following day, buried in three inconspicuous paragraphs in its "Around the World" column, the *Post* reported Dr. Caetano's denial of the original article by Father Hastings.

The story dropped out of the news for a couple of days. Then, on July 21, the *Washington Post* carried a story from its Madrid correspondent, in which a Father Salvador Berenguer insisted that there was indeed a Wiriyamu. He knew the village to be part of the São Pedro mission in Changara. Indeed, on the Sunday after the massacre, he himself had been riding on a bus to Tete, and he heard passengers talking of the massacre.

Another pause in the tale of Wiriyamu ensued. Then, on July 24, the *Post* carried a five-column spread: "New Facts on Mozambique Atrocities." The story, picked up from MacManus, dealt however, not with Wiriyamu in 1972, but with four incidents near Mucumbura in 1971.

On July 30, back in London, the *Times* carried a full story by its man in South Africa, Michael Knipe, interviewing the Portuguese commander-in-chief in Lourenço Marques. General Kaula Oliveiro de Arriaga admitted small incidents, but denied Wiriyamu.

Time Magazine then weighed in with a report from correspondent Peter Hawthorne, who had been among the group that searched the triangle south and east of Tete. Hawthorne described Wiliamo as an abandoned village of 10 or 15 huts, eight miles from Tete. Clearly, he said, the

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hamlet had been abandoned in a hurry, but he found no sign of a slaughter.

On August 1, the *Johannesburg Star*'s Wilf Nussey returned to the topic. A veteran of nine years of war correspondence in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, he felt qualified to write authoritatively on the matter. He had gone back to the triangle for a second visit. "Wiliamo village produced not a shred of evidence of massacre." Some of the priests' statements were "pure Frelimo propaganda and patently untrue."

In the weeks that followed, other correspondents became satisfied that something grisly had indeed occurred on December 16, 1972 at a settlement known as Chowala, an hour's walk from the abandoned Wiliamo, but the *Telegraph*'s Loudon on August 20, writing from Tete, reported "there is still no evidence on the spot to support expansive claims about a massacre at 'Wiriyamu.'" The Chowala incident was further confirmed by the *Johannesburg Star* in a story out of Nampula on September 25.

The last directly relevant clipping in my file is from the *Times* of London, dated November 27. This was a story under the byline of Harry Debelius, datelined Madrid. He had interviewed the same two Burgos fathers first mentioned by Father Hastings in July. They had just been released from prison in Mozambique. They told him of four alleged massacres in the Mucumbura area in 1971, but they said these were the work not of Portuguese, but of Rhodesian troops. They said nothing of the slaughter of 400 at Wiriyamu in 1972.

LET ME state my own conclusions, for whatever they may be worth. Reviewing the whole record, I am satisfied that there never was a "Wiriyamu," and there never was a massacre of 400 persons on December 16, 1972 or any other time. I am satisfied that the Hastings article, with all its fake details, was a fabrication. I do not suggest that the fabrication was a deliberate act of the Spanish priests. My guess is that they were fed garbled exaggerations of an actual incident, on a much smaller scale, at Chowala. Because of their intense hatred of Portuguese colonialism, I believe they were prepared to accept these rumors and embroiderings as true. Father Hastings, afflicted with the same prejudice, provided a credulous conduit.

I surely do not mean to condone massacre in any numbers, anywhere. But I am generally familiar with that part of Africa, and I know something of the bitter and brutal guerrilla warfare that continues in the whole area of the Cabora Bassa dam project. The Communist-trained terrorists of Frelimo are well equipped. They are utterly ruthless. The Portuguese troops, including many black troops, are equally tough. In a primitive corner of the world, primitive incidents are bound to occur.

One possible explanation for the Wiriyamu yarn appeared in *The Economist*'s "Foreign Report" on August 8 of last year. This explanation emanated from a source in Prague, by way of Bonn. The source believes the "Wiriyamu massacre" was the product of a "disinformation" operation hatched by the Czech secret service, which is "virtually an appendage of the Russian KGB."

According to the source in Prague, the KGB felt new anti-Western propaganda had to be devised to replace the fading issue of Vietnam. Toward the end of 1972, it was decided to focus attention on the war in Mozambique in order to undermine Portugal's standing in the Western alliance. Accordingly two Czech agents, Kubik and Stoklasa, went to Tanzania and Zambia, talked with Frelimo leaders, and were given "confused versions of bloody incidents in an area near the Tete-Beira road." In some fashion, they also confused the name of a Chief Wiriyamu with the name of a village. The consonants "r" and "l" are almost interchangeable in many African dialects. The agents may have heard of the incident at Chowala, near Wiliamo. On their return to Prague, Russian advisers insisted that for the story to make an impact, "a total of at least 400 deaths was an absolutely essential ingredient." The story mushroomed through radical Catholic circles.

Without vouching for this explanation as necessarily authentic, "Foreign Report" remarked that "it may be relevant that for years Prague has been a center of Communist propaganda." The Czechs "have specialized in cooking up plausible 'disclosures' to embarrass Western governments." Such fabrications are "supported by manufactured evidence and superficially convincing detail." Some of the details provided by the Prague source are interesting, "Foreign Report" added, "because they fit in exactly with the known pattern of Prague-inspired propaganda operations."

So far as the *Washington Post* and the *Times* of London are concerned, I am satisfied that the *Times* acted gullibly, but in good faith. I should emphasize once more that the British Press Council, after a careful review of complaints against the *Times* for its handling of the Hastings article, concluded that detailed checking of the Hastings report was not possible: "The complaints against the *Times* are not upheld." Mr. Heren of the *Times* remains firmly convinced that Wiriyamu did in fact exist. He cites confirming evidence, from both diplomatic and clerical sources, to which he has had access; some of his evidence of Wiriyamu, however, appears to deal with some other massacres, some place else. The *Times* has published prominently and in full every denial from the Portuguese. The *Times* also has given considerable space to counterclaims of Frelimo massacres.

As for the *Post*, it may suffice to say that its handling of warfare in Mozambique has been lopsidedly anti-Portuguese. After months of giving large headlines and prominent play to tales of Wiriyamu and other atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Portuguese, the *Post* in January of 1974 received reports of the slaughter of 17 civilians in the village of Nhacambo—a massacre committed, without question, by the terrorists of Frelimo. Mutilated bodies were seen and photographed by Red Cross representatives. The Portuguese government promptly filed a report with the United Nations. Details of this true incident matched the details of Wiriyamu in barbarity.

On January 11, the *Post* carried its account of Frelimo's massacre at Nhacambo. The story ran to three paragraphs, conveniently buried under a small single-column headline: "Frelimo Offensive." □

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KEYNES

We aren't all Keynesians now, and Keynes himself might well disown those who pose as his disciples. The author demonstrates why the Keynesian revolution cannot withstand the monetarist challenge

What You Shouldn't Know about Economics

PAUL McGOULDRICK

THE LATE John Maynard Keynes reached the cover of *Time* Magazine in 1966, and therefore a certain immortality. But even at the time, students of money did not have to be told of the legend that this honor presaged bad luck for the recipient. The monetarist counterrevolution against Keynes' theories and recommendations was already under way; and what was then a stream has become a flood. Moreover, defenders of the Keynesian heritage have transformed the Master's teachings to the point where he might, if living, exclaim, I am not a Keynesian. To see what both attackers and defenders have been up to, it is necessary to state the core of Keynes' teachings and how his view of the public's demand for money is at the heart of the argument.

I.

As every undergraduate and *New York Times* reporter knows, Keynes taught that capitalism, in its modern form at least, generates insufficient demand for the goods and services produced by the private sector of the economy. In doing so, he made great play with Say's Law (enunciated by an early nineteenth century French economist, Jean-Baptiste Say) postulating that this could never happen because every seller was also a buyer, hence supply created its own demand. Even if the seller intended to save part of his income, his desire to earn interest or profits on his savings would induce him to entrust the savings to borrowers whose spending was in excess of their own income. Therefore, total spending would be maintained regardless of the division of income between consumption and saving. Individual firms and industries, of course, could find themselves in trouble because demand had shifted away from their products. But the same shift would create shortages in the fields *to which* spending had switched. Across the economy as a whole, shortages and surpluses would cancel out and demand would thus equal supply.

Keynes' root argument was that Say's Law was seriously incomplete because Say did not include money among the goods and services demanded by income receivers. Suppose that the community produces 100 widgets priced at $10 each, so that community income equals $1,000. And to simplify, suppose that individuals have only two outlets for income, money and widgets. As long as income receivers demand $1,000 of widgets, all will be well. But now suppose that individuals suddenly demand an *additional* $100 of money to hold idle and that the community's banking system does not provide the additional $100. The demand for widgets will now drop to $900, while the market supply remains $1,000. Obviously, there is overproduction.

Mill Said It Before

While worthy of the master debater that he was, this "finding" betrayed a curious ignorance of what economists had written earlier. More than 100 years before Keynes published *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, the young John Stuart Mill had made exactly the same point in masterly language (in *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*).

> What [critics of Say's Law] called a general superabundance was not a superabundance of commodities relative to commodities but a superabundance of all commodities relative to money. What [this] amounted to was that persons in general, at that particular time, from a general expectation of being called upon to meet sudden demands, liked better to possess money than any other commodity. . . . In extreme cases, money was collected in masses, and hoarded; in the milder cases, people merely deferred parting with their money, or coming under any new engagements to part with it. But the result was that all commodities fell in price, or became unsalable.

(Continues on page 532)

Mr. McGouldrick is an associate professor of economics at SUNY Binghamton.

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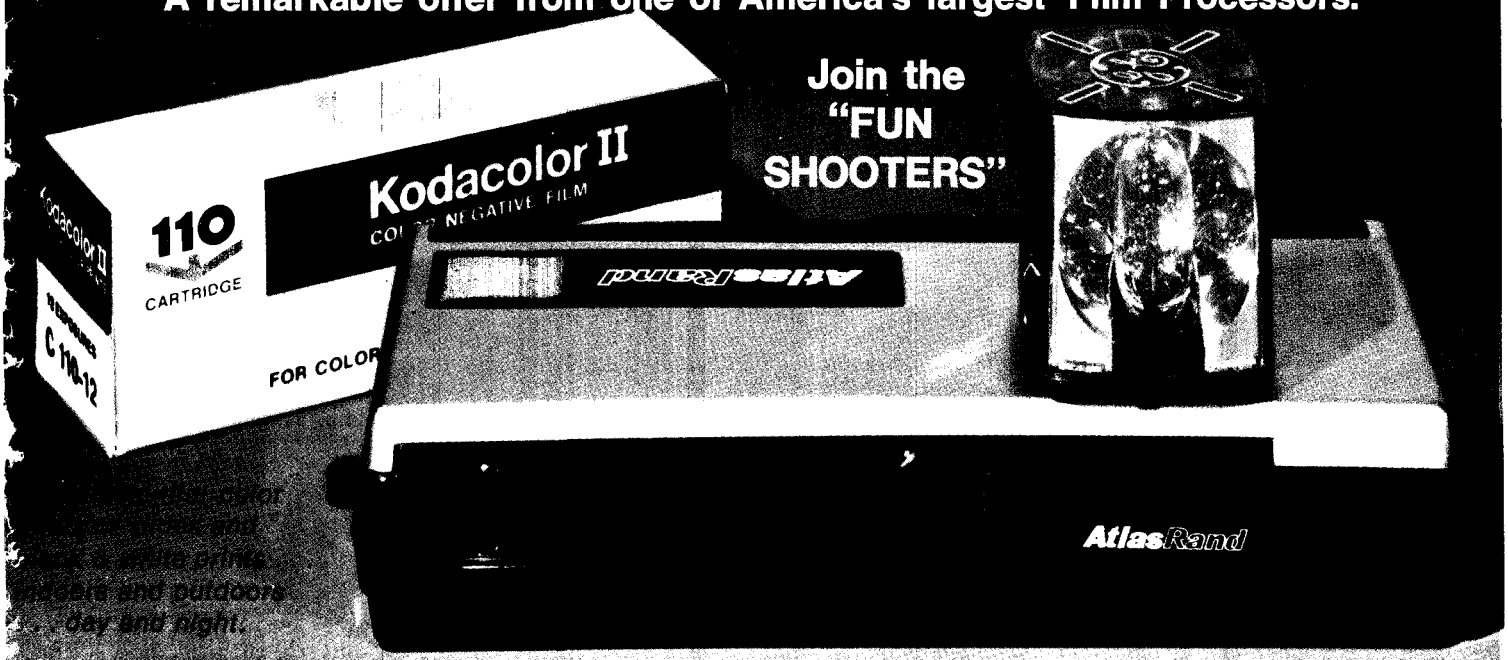

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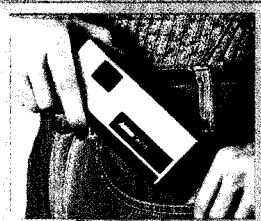
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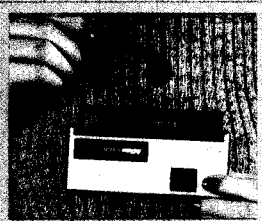
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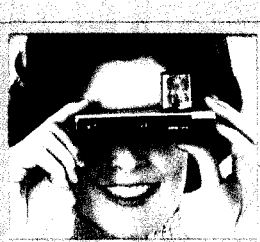
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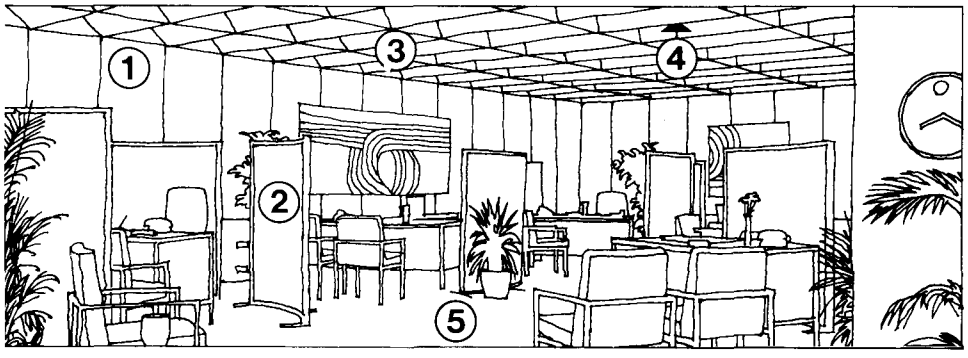

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In short, the deficiency in Say's Law was never there, after 1828 at least. This astonishing fact was obscured for Keynes' contemporaries because economists of the nineteenth century currency and banking schools, and later Knut Wicksell, Ludwig von Mises, and Friedrich Hayek, had busied themselves with cases not of excess demand for money by the public but of excess supply of money by governments and banks, driving up demand and creating inflation. These were the practical problems of the nineteenth century (and today), and Keynes did a service in emphasizing that trouble could also arise from disturbances in the demand for money.

Politically Sexy

But the topic of money bores the many, while maddening the few. Besides, why would not prices adjust to iron out matters? In the example just given, a fall in the widget price to slightly over $9 each would make widget demand equal to supply; production would be maintained and unemployment averted.[1] Keynes' fourfold answer was politically sexy then and now. 1) Unions, monopolies, and governments would refuse necessary downward adjustments in prices and wages, so that demand and supply could not come into balance in real terms if money demand fell. 2) Investment needs were contracting because the great work of the Industrial Revolution had been completed; in Keynes' words, "two pyramids, or two masses for the dead, are twice as good as one, but not two railroads from London to York." Hence, interest rates—the cost of borrowing—would have to fall and fall, in order to induce sufficient investment to carry off "excess" saving. 3) When interest rates had fallen far enough, say to the level of Keynes' England, the capitalist *Götterdämmerung* would occur because savers, being discontented with very low rates, would switch from lending to hoarding money, even though they earned no interest at all. 4) This thirst for money to hold idle would cause employment to fall, along with the community's income, until high unemployment and low incomes reduced savings to the point where they again matched investment needs. At this

1. In 1944, Professor Franco Modigliani found that changes in the demand for money could not explain unemployment except temporarily. Only rigid money wages could. But the classical economics attacked by Keynes had always said this—so there went the ballgame.

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point, mass unemployment would last forever, or at least long enough for a dictator to take over.

What was to be done? Ask your college freshmen or *Times* reporter again; he knows the answer. Government should supply the missing demand by deficit spending plus aggressive central bank action to keep interest rates low by pumping out whatever new money was demanded by savers. This remedy, and the foregoing diagnosis, is the *General Theory* in a nutshell. And the popular conception of Keynesian teaching has remained thus ever since.

Nevertheless, Keynes' intellectual structure was rickety. World famous economists such as Joseph Schumpeter, Jacob Viner, Frank Knight, and Wassily Leontief (not to mention the more *engagé* Friedrich Hayek, Henry Hazlitt, and Ludwig von Mises) were courteously skeptical even in 1936 when the *General Theory* was published; and the following two decades saw a quiet erosion of the Keynesian doctrines among professional economists. The theory of vanishing investment opportunities survives no more; postwar experience has demolished it. Two railroads from London to York are obviously nonsensical, but not one old railroad plus a new superhighway plus new air traffic. Hence, borrowing demands were and are vigorous enough to keep interest rates high enough to move savings into investment.

Econometric studies also demolished the proposition that the thirst for money hoards becomes infinite when interest rates are low. And using theoretical analysis, Professor Don Patinkin demonstrated that in a free market economy where prices and *money* wages were allowed to fall, any increased demand for money to hold idle would be satisfied by the greater purchasing power of money at a lower price level. For money is what money buys.

In addition, the hoarding of money because savers believe that better interest rates could be obtained in the future[2] always contrasted strangely with the gloominess among businessmen as to future profits to be earned from borrowing and investing now. And theorists easily demonstrated that this cause of money hoarding would vanish as experience proved low interest rates to be permanent.

But these bastions could be carried while the center of the fortress remained impregnable, as long as two Keynesian propositions stood. The first was that the public's demand for money (and hence demand for goods) was highly unstable. The second was a strangely cynical proposition of Keynes that unions would peremptorily refuse cuts in money wages but would stand idly by if the purchasing power of wages were eroded by rising prices. The first has constituted the central point of attack by the monetarists, while the second has been refuted by experience in Edward Heath's Britain and elsewhere.

II.

Throughout the Thirties and Forties, economists at the University of Chicago in particular had kept alive the older teaching of stable or slowly changing demand for money, hence a rather tight link between new money and new spending. And the seminal contribution igniting the monetarist counteroffensive was Professor Milton Friedman's essay of 1956, "The Quantity of Money—a Restatement." In theoretical form, he demonstrated that rational men seeking their own self-interest would attempt to keep money balances in a fairly constant ratio to other assets which they owned, allowing for price changes. Hence, an increase in the money stock would cause an increase in spending. Interest rates would be pushed down only temporarily by the Fed's creation of money, so that new money would not disappear into hoards but enter into active circulation.

Empirically Sound

There the matter stood—in theory. The Keynesians had one, Milton Friedman another. The proof of the pudding was in the eating, Friedman then urged. How had firms and consumers behaved over 200 years of history for which money and other data were available? Let's study the facts, he said, and then see whether the monetarist or Keynesian theory explains them better.

There followed a deluge of empirical studies, capped by Friedman and Anna Schwartz's monumental *Monetary History of the United States*. Over and over again, monetarists demonstrated from the historical record that money not only mattered but mattered a great deal. They went beyond the earlier crude position of pre-twentieth century economists that the ratio of income to money (velocity) was constant, to examine what happened when prices, interest rates, and other factors complicated the picture. Four examples may be given.

1. Phillip Cagan explained the demand for money (and hence the rate of inflation) in Germany during the years 1919 to 1923 when workers would run from pay windows to spend their wages before they depreciated by a third or a half. His model explains desired money holdings in real terms as inversely proportional to the expected rate of inflation, and this expected rate as having been read by the public from past rates of price inflation. The basic cause of rising prices was additions to the money supply to finance the large and growing German governmental deficit. At first, the inflation tax was modest or at least bearable because the public looked at past, not current, experience. But as prices began to accelerate further, desired money holdings in real terms shrank catastrophically, diminishing the yield of the inflation tax to the government and thus forcing ever larger increases in money emissions each month. At last, the system ended not in deficit-financing prosperity but in chaos and Adolf Hitler's 1923 beer hall putsch in Munich. It only remains to add, from Bresciani-Turroni's classic earlier work, that the hyperinflation was not inevitable but had been demanded by influential sections of the business community which believed, in reasoning anticipating that of Keynes, that inflation would depress real wages and thereby give German industry advantages in export markets.

2. A series of econometric studies by monetarist economists at the Federal Reserve Bank of Saint Louis has shown that changes in money influence spending and the economy much more than government spending does. These studies have covered not only a half century of American experience but that of many foreign countries as well.

3. Milton Friedman's *Monetary History of the United States* answered the obvious objection that the research technique of correlating changes in money and spending may include causation running both ways. In at least five cases (the 1873-79 return to gold, silver agitation in Cleveland's second Administration, the 1920 increase in the discount rate by the Federal Reserve, a similar increase in 1931, and Federal Reserve increases in re-

2. Technically, Keynes said that people who are bullish about future interest rates (and therefore, bearish on future bond prices) go into cash instead of buying bonds. Amazing as this may seem, this was the sole reason he gave for his proposition that the *community's* thirst for money becomes infinite at low interest rates.

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quired reserves in 1936 and 1937), the changes in the money supply were clearly due to political factors or reasons other than changes in the public's demand for money. Nevertheless, consequences followed which could have been predicted from the monetarist position.

4. Despite appearances, not all monetarists are in Chicago. Professors Allan Meltzer, Richard Selden, Karl Brunner, John Culbertson, Boris Pesek, and Thomas Saving have monetarist models of great sophistication, which differ in some respects from those of Milton Friedman.

III.

Meanwhile what have the followers of Keynes been doing? They are still in the majority, by head count, and no one can fault the technical ability of such men as Professor James Tobin of Yale. But their response to the monetarist challenge has been mixed. In part it resembles the brilliant fighting withdrawals of the German Field Marshal Erich von Mannstein in Russia after Stalingrad. Thus, the responsiveness of desired money holdings to interest rates has been found to be low, as monetarists claimed all along. Budget deficits and their financing in the bond market do crowd out private investment; and increases in profits can stimulate real output more than increases in wages (as the Keynesian advisers of President Kennedy also recognized when they advocated the investment tax credit passed by Congress in 1963). Above all, their models and findings provide a strong role for money to play. Indeed, modifications of the original gospel from England have gone so far that a fine economist could write a book with the revealing title, *On Keynesian Economics and the Economics of Keynes.*

But a model of the economy may be brilliant in analyzing the interplay of the factors considered and still be useless because of what it leaves out. And on a very fundamental point, the strategy of most Keynesians has resembled Hitler's cry, "Not one step backward," rather than the elastic methods of von Mannstein. Workers are supposed to be very stupid fellows, for they ignore labor market tightness in their wage demands short of the tantalizingly vague point of "full" employment. Over and over again, postwar experience has demonstrated that workers are not so silly. Every postwar recovery has seen wage demands leaping upwards when unemployment was still large by liberal Keynesian criteria; and over the last five years, union leaders have assessed very accurately the willingness of the Federal Reserve to limit inflation. Money holders have also responded to "expansionary" monetary policies not by holding larger cash balances, as Keynesian theory postulates, but by spending in order to beat the price rise. But instead of dropping the stable-price assumption from their models, Keynesian economists have typically invoked demons in the form of "selfish" unions and corporations to explain why things always went wrong. From there on the litany is familiar, ranging from wage-price guidelines to the more open controls of Nixonian provenance.

The monetarists have not been slow in appropriating useful techniques and concepts developed by Keynesians. But their broad conclusions are still those of Irving Fisher and his classical precursors. Gone is Keynes' apocalyptic vision of Valhalla burning as the god-capitalists frantically clutch their hoards of money. The major reason for instability of output in the past has not been Keynes' postulated flaws in the capitalist price system but instead unwise decisions of government and government-dominated banks in raising or lowering the money supply.

The Fed Can't Resist

And what does this mean for economic stabilization policies in Washington? For one thing, Calvin Coolidge was not necessarily correct in calling for balanced budgets. *If* federal deficits are accompanied by an unflinching refusal of the Federal Reserve Board to finance them, the result is simply to shift spending and employment from the private to the government sector, without prices and total employment being affected. For the federal deficit crowds out private investment and other spending, leaving total demand the same.

If Professor Galbraith stopped reading at this point, he might then take Keynes' picture off his wall and hop the next plane to Chicago. But in the broader context of political realities, the wisdom of Calvin Coolidge has everything to be said for it. The picture of a Congress spending freely and a Federal Reserve tightening the money supply is delightful to contemplate in the abstract. But it is as unreal as that of Daniel Berrigan or George McGovern coming out against women's lib. In the abstract, women do vote and act more conservatively than men, as French socialists realized before World War II when they opposed (and the French right wing parties supported) female suffrage. But Dan and George will never draw this implication, and the Fed has never resisted and will never resist pressures to "save" homeowners, Wall Street, and the small businessman from the interest rate consequences of deficits by monetizing them. The realistic policy should be to balance the budget (except under highly unusual circumstances such as a major war or the Great Depression) and leave the job of economic stabilization to the Federal Reserve.

For another thing, practical wisdom also suggests that the Federal Reserve should expand the money stock at a rate which is steady and which corresponds to the growth of output capacity. Milton Friedman has never ceased recommending this, for a profound reason. We know that the money supply has very strong impacts on prices and short-run output changes. But we do not know how many months it takes for those impacts to be felt. Consequently, the most prudent policy is the one stated.

In today's world of shortages, the proper management of money is only part of the answer. But it is an important part, as the contrast between the Keynesian monetary policies of Great Britain and the conservative monetary policies of West Germany prior to Willy Brandt demonstrates very conclusively. Conveying the monetarist findings to congressmen, editorial writers, and bureaucrats will take time, but it would be foolish to despair of the eventual outcome. For we may call upon Keynes the seer to redeem us from the consequences of Keynes the flawed economist:

> In the field of economic and political philosophy, there are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are 25 or 30 years of age, so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest. But, soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good and evil. □

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NADERISM

Consumerism and One Small Businessman

LOWELL F. JONES

In 1971, after 52 years of lawful existence in the city of my birth, I was sent to prison. I had been convicted of mail fraud. But I was in fact the victim of a recent crusade politicians are finding lucrative: consumer protectionism. As Dr. Roger Klein, economist for the Argus Research Corporation, puts it, "being in favor of consumer safety and more information is sort of like being in favor of God, motherhood, and apple pie. According to the consumer advocate, the consumer is a poor slob beset by shoddy and unsafe products, worthless warranties, hidden loan charges, flammable fabrics, beefless beef stroganoff, and chickenless chicken soup." Los Angeles businessman Tyler Macdonald says, "I think we are part of a lynch mob society. All you have to do is get up and accuse someone of something. Consumerism is a shortcut to political power." As something of a lynchee myself, I can testify to the truth of Mr. Macdonald's words.

In my home state—Minnesota—consumerism has become a powerful political springboard and is recognized as such by those who played a major part in my story, chief among them Attorney General Warren Spannaus, who, wrote the *Minneapolis Star*, "has no intention of giving up the consumer protection operation which . . . gives the attorney general's office considerable publicity and visibility." I have had occasion to deal with Mr. Spannaus myself.

When this story starts I was running a card business, which employed 127 persons in four cities during its busy season and had thousands of customers all over the country. We made contact with our customers by mail. The average order was $10, and an account turning in over $100 a year was a very good customer indeed. So we handled literally tens of thousands of orders annually, and our promotional mailings ran into the millions. The one-time customer was our most deadly expense. Unless we could get repeat business, we couldn't make a profit. The secret of the second sale—and the third and the fourth—is consumer satisfaction. So it was in our own interest to be our own "consumer protectors." It was our future that was at stake in keeping customers happy. And we weren't amateurs: we'd been at it 21 years, in the same office building, in the city where my family lived for nearly a century. Hardly a fly by night operation.

We'd had tough years as well as good ones. But our long term business record included the acquisition of several sinking competitors, all of which we had converted into viable enterprises. There was never the slightest hint of fraud in our quarter century of dealing directly with tens of thousands of unseen customers.

In November 1970, the Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party swept out an entrenched Republican administration in Minnesota. The new attorney general, Warren Spannaus, took office January 4, 1971.

The next day, January 5, he got the signature of one of my customers on an eight page affidavit, which charged that an $11.58 credit coupon sent to us on November 23 had not been redeemed six weeks later.

On January 28, my lawyer and I accepted Attorney General Spannaus' invitation to bring our books and records for a discussion of our order fulfillment procedures. We had no idea of any sort of impending litigation.

During a four hour conference we answered every question fully and accurately. We gave permission for the photocopying of vast quantities of corporate records. We pointed out that the 263 customer complaints then on hand in the Attorney General's office amounted to about one half of 1 per cent of the 40,000 orders we had received during the last half of 1970. There was some discussion of some of the language on our order blank, and we were asked to "stop all mailing until you hear from us." We agreed and did so. We also offered to comply voluntarily with any statutes the Attorney General felt we might be inadvertently violating. At no time were we told that court action was imminent.

By February 1, four days after our meeting, the Attorney General had prepared a 47 page summons, complaint, order to show cause, and restraining order against us. He got it signed two days later, February 3, by a district court judge—without notice to us and without a hearing. This document charged, among other things, that I had "converted . . . currency, money orders, and/or personal checks, and retained the proceeds thereof . . ." for my personal use. When we finally got to court no effort was made to prove this charge.

The judge's order directed us to cease business and to turn over all our assets (including money on hand and whatever cash came in) to a receiver selected by the Attorney General. I had been in business for 21 years, and now, by court order, all my business assets were confiscated, and my only recourse was to go to court and try to prove I was *not* guilty.

It is worth pausing here to size up the situation as of February 3. Who were the winners and who were the losers as the Attorney General left the judge's chambers with his court order?

If indeed we were hurting the innocent, unprotected consumer, we had ceased doing so when we voluntarily stopped our mailing. The state did not accuse us, later in court, of mailing at the time the secret order was signed; nor did it charge us with violating our voluntary pledge. Whatever money had already come in we had, as is the regular procedure, sent to vendors for merchandise to fill consumer orders, so this cash was not available for refund.

When the Attorney General's men entered our premises the first thing they did was to fire all our employees, including those in the warehouse who were at that very moment filling and packing orders for shipment. They smashed open our locked metal file cabinets with a sledgehammer and changed the locks on our doors. I was out of town at one of our branch offices

Mr. Jones was in the mail order business in Minnesota.

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and didn't hear of this until that evening, when I got the news by phone.

All of this was done in the name of consumerism—but what did the consumer get out of it? The Attorney General's wrecking crew shipped no orders. They replied to none of the correspondence awaiting processing in our office. They made no refunds. Nor did they use our confiscated checking account to buy merchandise for the consumers they were allegedly protecting.

Most of our employees didn't get paid for the time they worked prior to their summary firing. They were simply, and very abruptly, rendered jobless. But the consumer advocates got quite a lot: 101 column inches of local newspaper space, plus TV, radio, and out-of-town newspaper coverage. Five- and six-column headlines proclaimed the effectiveness of the new state regime. One such story quoted the Attorney General's office as saying I had "collected $400,000 in advance payments . . . and it is assumed he [Lowell Jones] has left the state."

Nearly four months later, after a long and costly trial, we won a court order turning the business back to us, giving us the right to continue using the mails, and rejecting the demand that our corporate charters be revoked. When we walked into our plant that day, we found the same customer orders that had been packed, sealed, and labeled four months before, still sitting on their skid waiting to be shipped out. The same inventory sat on the same warehouse shelves—ready to go to those consumers who were being "protected." All 9,663 unfilled orders were still just where we had left them, 5,163 of them having come in during the days immediately before the government's takeover.

What wasn't the same was the bank account: except for a few minor expenditures, all our money had gone to pay the receiver selected by the Attorney General. We got none of it back.

Despite the court order directing that all books and records be restored to us, the Attorney General's receiver held back some items. When questioned, he replied, "Oh, I probably dumped them." We took him to court and won a judgment against him for converting to his own use funds he had reported to the court as paid out for employee payroll.

By August, we had raised some new capital, shipped out 2,116 of the old orders that had lain dormant while the consumerists were in control, and paid most of our long-suffering employees.

On Thursday, August 19, we dropped 25,000 pieces of mail into the post office in an effort to get into business again. Two days later, a four-column headline in the local newspaper proclaimed: "Attorney General reports" that our firm was "selling again." Why should the Attorney General "report" our resumption of our business? According to his spokesman, he was "not advising persons that they should not invest; he simply wishes to advise consumers that the new offering is being made by the same individual who was involved with litigation with the state of Minnesota regarding similar mailings earlier this year." Put a little differently, he was trying to accomplish in the newspapers what he couldn't accomplish in court. Moreover, his spokesman, in the same story, quoted accurately the number of pieces we had mailed and part of their printed content.

THE Attorney General's office had been so busy harassing us that it had never got around to doing anything to see that those 9,663 orders still unfilled in our office were processed, a strange way surely to go about consumer protection. But just as we were putting our own pieces back together (having survived the assaults of the state and the local press), the federal bureaucracy got into the act. In December I found myself in court again, this time pleading not guilty—unsuccessfully—to a charge of mail fraud. We had issued checks before the state's abrupt seizure of our assets, intending to cover them with funds in our bank account and in our incoming mail bags—like the housewife who writes checks on the weekend and puts money in the bank Monday morning to cover them. But when our assets were suddenly confiscated, we were held responsible for the checks that bounced as a result.

So, on May 1, 1972 our little business closed its doors again while I went to prison for a "short" term of nine months. I was paroled at Thanksgiving, and set out to take care of those 9,663 unfilled customer orders. I now had no court-imposed restrictions on either my occupation or my use of the mails. Within 60 days of my return from prison, we had put together a little capital, lined up a few suppliers who had known us a long time and trusted us, and shipped out—at last—$3000 worth of prepaid orders that had been sitting around.

In January 1973, I applied to top-level executives in the local postal service, telling them of my plans and asking whether our company's bulk mailing permit—a necessity in our business—was still in good standing. They assured me that it was, and that I could use the mails just like anyone else. I paid the annual fees for 1973.

Then in February we were told—without notice or explanation—that the permit we had paid for was canceled. No refund was offered. We were instructed to write Darwin E. Sharp at the Postal Service in Washington; we sent him a courteous inquiry and received neither acknowledgment nor reply to our questions. Here again is the familiar pattern of official arrogance: confiscate first, without consultation, warning, or due process, then let the poor citizen struggle to retrieve what he's lost—via an expensive court system that can delay justice, or what's left of it, for years.

We finally did get action in Washington with the help of Senator Walter Mondale and Congressman Donald Fraser; now we are struggling to get the local Postal Service to comply with Washington's edict. But even if our company finally receives some measure of belated justice, the larger question remains: will unseen bureaucrats be authorized to find firms guilty—without a hearing or a trial—of intent to defraud the consumer? Our guilt, if you can so label it, was that in certain cases there were delays in shipping. But consider the following cases:

—Detroit's automakers in the first nine months of 1972 recalled more cars than they built.

—Kool cigarettes took six to eight weeks to deliver a $129 gazebo.

—The publishers of 108 consumer magazines need from 15 to 166 days to service new subscriptions. A recent *Advertising Age* survey shows 25 to 50 days is the norm.

—George Hormel & Co. had its salami banned—to great public fanfare—by Connecticut's Consumer Protection Commissioner. The ban was lifted—without fanfare—after laboratory tests were made. (Is it too much to ask that the lab tests be made *before* calling city desk?)

—Columbia Record Club hadn't shipped

(Continues on page 551)

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More on the Meddling State

THE LITERATURE of penology teaches us that you can break a man's spirit by forcing him to perform chores that are endless, exacting, and meaningless. He must make up his bunk in a certain way. He must stand in a certain way. He must eat in a certain way. Or be flogged, or starved, or thrown in a hole, or shot. After a while the prisoner's mind becomes limited by the trivialities that have been made to assume absurd proportions. The limitation of the mind becomes a torture in itself. It is the worst of all tortures. The yearning for escape, for release, for sunshine and wings, becomes obsessive.

Many writers have observed a rough historical rule that lays down a natural limit on the amount of a people's product the government can confiscate without running the risk of open rebellion. They say that when the politicians take more than 35 per cent of the gross national product, the government stays in the saddle only by force and coercion. There may be a different way to define that limit. It may be that the government grows shaky when the people begin to feel the torture of the trivial chore. This column describes in detail—in purposefully painful detail—a couple of examples of the thing that will, I believe, drive the American people to rebellion sooner or later.

The following quotes are from the 1972 Survey of Business Ownership, a green piece of paper eight inches wide and 14 inches long, printed in black ink on one side only. "Due date: 15 days after receipt—Form Approved: OMB No. 41S-73031—Form MB-2 (5-17-73)—U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATISTICS ADMIN. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS 1972 SURVEY OF BUSINESS OWNERSHIP—NOTICE—Response to this inquiry is required by law (Title 13, U.S. Code). [A nice touch, that. Title 13, including supplements, has about 70 pages of law. Figuring 400 words per page, Title 13 contains about 28,000 words. It would have been kind and decent for the government to indicate the exact legal reference. But we must remember that a form of torture is going on, and the important thing is to force the citizen to work long and hard to perform the simplest task—in this case, to discover the exact place in 28,000 words of statutes where Form MB-2 is authorized. The torture is all the more exquisite because it is perfectly obvious to the prisoner—excuse me, the citizen—that his jailer knows the exact answer but refuses to give it out. A game is being played. And it hurts.] By the same law, your report to the Census Bureau is confidential. It may be seen only by sworn Census employees and may be used only for statistical purposes. The law also provides that copies retained in your files are immune from [sic] legal process. [Guffaw. With half the Administration up on perjury charges, an oath is supposed to protect us?]—NAME AND ADDRESS OF BUSINESS—In correspondence pertaining to this report refer to this Census File Number [not given]—EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER—Did the business identified in Item 1 file a Treasury Form 941, Employer's Federal Tax Return [,] for any quarter in 1972?—Enter the currently assigned EI number (9 digits)—Major activity of this business—List in order of importance the principal products made, lines of merchandise sold, types of services rendered, or construction activity performed—APPROXIMATE DOLLAR VOLUME OF BUSINESS IN 1972—OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS—Mark (X) one box and follow accompanying instructions—Complete one line in Item 6 for each owner, partner, or self-employed person. Do NOT enter the percentage of ownership—Complete one line in Item 6 for each shareholder or part-owner including the percentage of ownership. If there are more than five shareholders or part-owners, complete lines 1 through 5 for the five having the greatest per cent of ownership—PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF ANCESTRY OF OWNER(S), PARTNERS, OR SHAREHOLDER—Each person in the United States has an ancestry from some other country, with the exception of the American Indian. Using the categories below, please indicate the main source of ancestry for each owner, partner, or shareholder. Use one line for each and mark the category which [sic] best applies. If exact information regarding persons is not available, reasonably accurate estimates are satisfactory for the purposes of this survey. If an owner, partner, or shareholder has not been included below, please give the reason for this in the space provided for remarks—REPORT ON A SEPARATE LINE FOR EACH OWNER, PARTNER, OR SHAREHOLDER . . ."

That is the kind of thing that drives a reasonable man up the wall. The whole exercise is pointless. And a similar exercise, as you'll see in the passage from a letter below, has driven a decent Midwestern lady to thoughts of physical violence.

I MET Mr. S——— the other day, and he told me that he has had to put his payroll on computer with the local bank. It used to take him about two hours to figure everyone's salary, deductions, etc., and make out a check for each employee. A representative from the State Internal Revenue Service came in last month, and asked him if he had a permit to pay his employees by check, and also if he listed every deduction on each check he issued (Fed. withholding, State withholding, social security, disability, pension, etc.). He said he did not, but he kept records in a book that was available to any employee who had a question. He was told he was breaking the law by not having a permit to pay by check, and also by not listing every deduction. When he explained to the revenue man that this would add another four hours to his payroll time, the fellow said that he didn't care, the law was the law, and he better do something about it or be fined. So now, besides paying the employees, he has to pay the bank to do the whole thing by computer. If any revenue agent comes in here and tells me we have to have a permit to pay myself and my daughter by check, I hope you'll understand if I throw the whole checkbook at him. Or maybe I'll just give him the knee treatment. I don't think you need a permit for that." The revolt of the middle classes is approaching. □

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Things That Go Bump in the Night

RUSSELL KIRK

From the Academy

In the public schools of Minneapolis, young persons may study the supernatural. Are these tidings of great joy? Nay, not so. For the Minneapolis "supernatural" course for pupils in the seventh and eighth grades is concerned with the unnatural or the subnatural, rather than with those realities that transcend physical nature. The Minneapolis course reminds me of a harsh criticism of W. B. Yeats made by T. S. Eliot in *After Strange Gods*. The "supernatural world" of Yeats was "the wrong supernatural world," Eliot wrote. "It was not a world of spiritual significance, not a world of real Good and Evil, of holiness or sin, but a highly sophisticated lower mythology summoned, like a physician, to supply the fading pulse of poetry with some transient stimulant so that the dying patient may utter his last word."

Perhaps the aim in Minneapolis is to supply the fading pulse of public schooling with some transient stimulant. A teacher of the supernatural course, styling herself Ms. Katz, describes for parents the character of this interesting curriculum. "Our first unit is superstition and requires gathering a list of superstitions, and studying the origin of many common superstitions," she begins.

"The second unit covers mythical and semimythical characters, such as vampires, werewolves, Frankenstein, ghosts, and witches. . . . Also, there will be a seance conducted.

"If finances permit, we may have a guest speaker, either a medium or a witch. The third unit is fortune telling and involves work with Astrology, Tarot Cards, the Ouija Board, Palmistry, and Numerology. Your child will learn to work with each method of fortune telling on a superficial basis. The final unit will be the study of ESP. Each student will be required to conduct evaluations of this area."

Ms. Katz says that she is "attempting to teach objectivity," and that pupils will be asked to "look for reasonable explanations for the supernatural phenomena." Those soothing phrases do not satisfy the Reverend C. Philip Hinerman of the Park Avenue United Methodist Church, Minneapolis who wrote me: "Many young people inevitably become hooked on communication with the dead, some have gone deep into witchcraft, and all sorts of bizarre and unhappy episodes have resulted."

Mr. Hinerman also raises a constitutional point. If Bible reading, prayer, and any sort of doctrinal instruction are prohibited in the public schools by the Supreme Court of these United States, how can public schools offer instruction in strange cults? Witchcraft is bound up historically with a heresy from Christianity; the Spiritualists maintain stoutly that theirs is a true religion; astrologers make religious, or quasi-religious, claims. Is it quite permissible to offer instruction about any god but God?

"What would the School Board of Minneapolis say to us," Mr. Hinerman continues, "if we proposed a course in conservative evangelical biblical Christianity? We could entitle it, perhaps, 'A Study of Evangelical Supernaturalism.' To ask that question is to answer it. You know very well what the School Board would say to us if we would ask for such permission."

Aye, just so. What increasingly develops in many public schools is a kind of establishment of antireligion. The Supreme Court began to recognize that unpleasant fact when it emancipated Amish children from attendance at public high schools; the august Court may find it necessary to take cognizance, eventually, of how public schools deal with the "supernatural."

Religion, Christianity in particular, is an endeavor to communicate with transcendent being—which, its nature not copying man's nature or physical nature, we call supernatural. The very character of study of the supernatural must lead to theological affirmations or negations. If one makes no such judgments at all—why, then, one plods round the prickly pear, in company with other Hollow Men, at five o'clock in the morning.

Don't mistake me, friends: I distinctly am not of the opinion that young people should be kept blissfully ignorant of the supernatural and the preternatural. Like Yeats, your servant was reared in a family that believed earnestly in the existence of ghosts; and that dogma has been confirmed repeatedly by many private experiences in my own vagrant life. I have written tales of the uncanny and collected true narrations of unquiet spirits. I was telling fortunes by the Tarot long before the hippies ever heard of that art—mostly for amusement, although it can be a dangerous pastime.

Much lies beyond "nature"—both great summits and dreadful depths. We live in a world of wonders. The physical sciences themselves increasingly may direct their attention to what commonly is called the "supernatural"; so Mr. Arthur Koestler argues in his recent book *The Roots of Coincidence*. The study of extrasensory perception, so superficially taken up in Ms. Katz's course, is no mere hocus-pocus, and ought not to be lumped together with numerology, say. Most important of all, our moral and our social order are sustained by "supernatural" convictions—by Christianity and Judaism.

Were I to have junior high pupils in my charge, with an eye to giving them glimpses of something beyond the five senses, I would employ the instrument of humane letters. I would have them read and discuss the tales of C. S. Lewis, and J. R. R. Tolkien, and Charles Williams (though he is a trifle difficult for the seventh grade), and Ray Bradbury—especially Bradbury's fantasy *Something Wicked This Way Comes*. I would give them George Macdonald and Jacquetta Hawkes. I would not encourage my pupils to "look for reasonable explanations" of great myths, say; rather, I would encourage them to seek the truth that is veiled in myth.

The supernatural is not the diabolical; nor is it merely "Madame de Tornquist, in the dark room/ Shifting the candles." Schools which shut out the supernatural utterly are wretched schools. Yet there are opened up nowadays contrived corridors which would lead a child not above nature, but beneath it. □

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Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

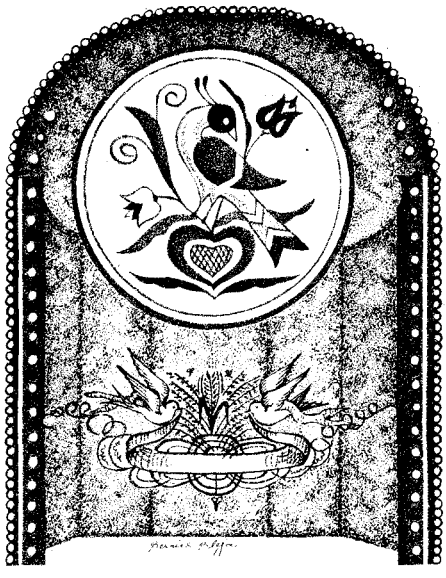
Gigantic Easter

The place is cumbrous, gentle as a triceratops. Too dumb, with its pinball sized brain, to know it should be extinct. Radio City Music Hall slouches, dripping, out of a second Jurassic era, when entertainment was larger than 24 inches, measured diagonally; when ocean liners were titanic, elephants jumbo, and apes gargantuan. BIG was good: an American slogan, as outdated in 1974 as manifest destiny. Now: two cylinder cars; diet-thin slices; little cigars. Townsized Third World nations hog-tying Gulliver. Big may be vulgar, bourgeois, big may use up too many ergs, but no one has told the Music Hall people about it. They still throw Barnumesque figures at you. The stage: 67 feet deep and a gross of feet wide; 25,000 lightbulbs. Three tons of curtain. And 72 young, lithe female hamstring muscles flexing in a massive calisthenic.

GREAT mother of all quonset huts; lofty enough to generate its own weather. Yet it is spare, still almost modern. A vacuum tube perhaps. The Music Hall goes with those Radio City murals, "Labor" or "Industry," mammoth, sinewy pieces of beefcake. It opened on December 27, 1932, just after a garish movie "palace" fashion died in bloating surfeit. You see these architectural great-great aunts all over the city; incongruous as Hassidim at an Andy Warhol cast party. They featured Byzantine fountains and men's rooms that were pocket seraglios. Now their marquees advertise BINGO mon., wed., fri. The Music Hall still works. Its physical plant is superb: a stage, with huge elevators and turntables, so sophisticated you could strike Sodom and Gomorrah in a three second blackout.

The audience has changed after 40 years. The very young, the very old: plus foreigners and yokels. You hear cameras clicking off a home movie for Des Moines or Tokyo; airline flight bags held in the lap. Folk who have been warned to hook a thumb in the wallet pocket as soon as their plane touches down at Kennedy. Up front ancient, sweet-smelling stage door Johnnies watch the hamstrings centipede past. Maybe eight parts black per thousand; you dilute sulphuric acid to the same ratio. No black Rockettes either. I ask someone in authority about this. "Well . . . the Rockettes work as a unit." Black legs high-kicking are always out of sync.

A cathedral has the same attendance record: SRO for Christmas and Easter, horsecollars in February and November. Costs are cannibalistic. Fifty-five piece orchestra, ballet corps, Rockettes, costume factory, sets out of *Intolerance*; 600 employees and all those lightbulbs. Last fall there was a labor shootout: management wanted to close and book outside events during the unreligious months. You have to feel for Music Hall performers. Rockettes work three weeks on, one off—a second female cycle. Four shows per day with the movie in between: makeup self-destructs after two hours; boredom has to be choreographed. And it's tough on the peristalsis dancing with a burger, two Cokes, and a side of French inside. Compromises were engineered, sidetracking the best trained picket line in New York. Some outside events have been engaged: probably just remission for a slow terminal case.



The Music Hall traffics in religion: glossy as an interfaith Hallmark card. The same "God" under whom we casually pledge allegiance: inoffensive, vague, democratic. "The Glory of Easter" show is a strange exercise. Rockettes nun-habited; holy quick-change artists. Billy Graham hasn't managed a more dramatic mass conversion. At the "largest" organ—its console more complex than a Gemini capsule dashboard—even the organist is required to vest, a sudden acolyte. There follows endless, snaky processing through a Gothic Cathedral "to the strains of Rubinstein's *Kamennoi Ostrow*," which sounds sacred but isn't, as Bethlehem, Pa. sounds sacred but isn't. Climax; the girls form a 50-foot cross. Artistically and spiritually "The Glory of Easter" is distinguished from an Orange Bowl halftime pageant only by its slow-mo pacing.

THAT takes care of the Bible-belt tourists. For your children, "Bunnies and Chicks." Overheated in rabbit suits, the ballet company does foolish anthropomorphic things. Coy eyelashes; belt-wide skirts that suggest lapine private parts. Rabbits taking off Elvis Presley, the Andrews Sisters, Eddie Cantor. It's a mindblowing bore, a great act to follow. The chicks follow, waving their nude gluteal muscles. Legs all built to the same specifications, like a cut-out string of paper dolls; faces glassy and Miss American, with a blank smile that says, "don't interrupt me, I'm counting"—one—two—three—four, one—two—three—four. Sex, of the kind you might see in a 1942 plumbing supply calendar, is—leave us not pretend—the hard sell at Radio City. With 36 precision dancing men, the Music Hall would have folded of its own weight 40 years ago.

Doris Day, Rock Hudson, and the other Seven Dwarfs live here. "The best films of the major studios all over the world are viewed and studied by theater executives who have learned the

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tastes and preferences of the millions who visit the Music Hall annually." It's a preference for safety. The film settings are either two-car suburban or perspectiveless, flat cartoon. Social issues, beyond those that Mary Poppins can spare a song for, are considered unsafe, yet there isn't quite the ferocious sterility of Walt Disney world, where a three weeks' stay can damage your reproductive glands. *Mame*, the latest PG feature, has a few "s.o.b." voltage expletives. But this is an age in which streakers get page one *Daily News* photo coverage. An old duenna, the Music Hall chaperones your spirit without stunting it.

Across Sixth Avenue, down just a few blocks, the serpent hangs out. Miniattractions: rap parlors, hookers, addicts, con men, women you can fingerpaint by number, stage films that star real stags . . . and pigs and horses. The city loiters; relevant and loathsome. It's a good thing, this place of safety. Worth one or two Christless, polystyrene Easters. □

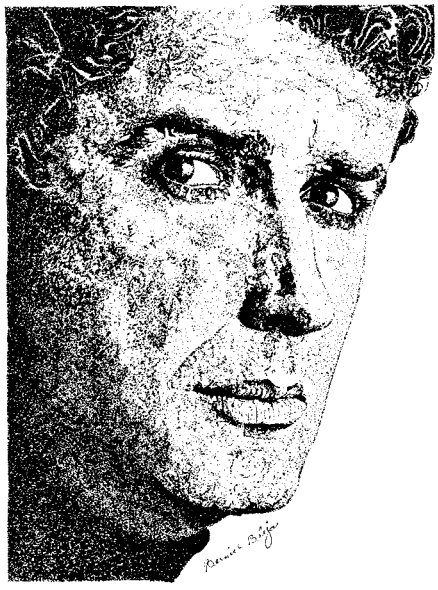
MUSIC

LINDA BRIDGES

Two Concerts

Everyone and his sister, whether they care about music or not, must have heard about the concert Maria Callas and Giuseppe di Stefano gave at Carnegie Hall on March 5; oddly unnoticed in the press was the concert two weeks earlier at Brooklyn College by another tenor-soprano team, Callas' old rival, Renata Tebaldi, and her frequent partner in bel canto revivals, Franco Corelli. Apart from this coincidence, however, the concerts were worlds apart; and the differences seem to say something about singers and their fans.

Tebaldi and Corelli just sang for three hours—no talk, no fuss—accompanied by an excellent young pianist, Eugene Kohn. There were no arias until the encores. Instead, they mostly sang Italian songs, ranging from stately, elegiac sixteenth and seventeenth century pieces to Bellini and Donizetti to passionate Neapolitan songs; they came together to close each half of the official program with a Puccini duet—first "*O soave fanciulla*" from *La Bohème*, and then Act I of *Tosca*, beginning "*Chi è quella donna bionda lassù?*" Concert-stage acting is, of course, different from acting in the opera house, but even so, Mimì and Rodolfo, Tosca and Mario came briefly to life.



Franco Corelli

Tebaldi no longer has her old power or flexibility, but she knows how to choose her material, and everything she sang, she sang beautifully. Her fortes are not what they once were—she was straining somewhat at the end of "*Soave fanciulla*"—but up to mezzo forte, her voice is still lovely throughout its range. Her one aria, "*Un bel dì*," was sung as well, and as movingly, as I have ever heard a Madame Butterfly sing it in the opera house.

Corelli was in glorious voice. Not usually known for his restraint, he nonetheless sang the two sixteenth century songs in the appropriate classical style, but became less subdued, more Romantic as he went on to Bellini, Donizetti, and the Neapolitan songs that made up most of the second half of the program. He was prodigal with encores: half a dozen Neapolitan songs and finally "*O souverain*" from Massenet's seldom performed *Le Cid*—the only non-Italian piece of the evening and a tenor showpiece.

For those who love beautiful voices and a thoroughly Italian style of singing, it was a splendid evening; but not a major event. No one *had* to troop out to Brooklyn to hear Tebaldi and Corelli; although Tebaldi is not on the Metropolitan Opera's roster this season, it is the first one she has missed since 1963; Corelli not only is a regular at the Met, he had sung in *Bohème* twice the previous week. The Callas-di Stefano concert was another matter entirely.

Some claim that Callas was the best singer of our time; no one disputes that she was responsible for the bel canto revival that began in the early Fifties. The appearance of such a singer would always be exciting, but now there was also her eight-year absence from a public stage, plus the question, would she sing or wouldn't she?

As it turned out, the audience was as interesting as the performers. No one really seemed to care how Callas sounded—they had come out of long-standing adoration or hatred, or because she is a sort of public monument that you really ought to see once in your life. One excitable gentleman called out, before she had even begun to sing, "Maria, you are opera!" Another badgered her during her long, rambling, and mostly inaudible spoken comments with cries of "Louder—we can't hear." There were discontented mutterings, and near hysterical adulation. Meanwhile, onstage . . .

MR. Stelios Galatopoulos, in his program notes, said, "One should really speak of beautiful singing and not of a beautiful voice. It is like comparing an ordinary violinist playing on a Stradivarius with, say, Kreisler playing on an ordinary good violin." That is, certainly, one defensible attitude toward singing, and the simile once applied to Callas. But nowadays the "ordinary good violin" seems to be missing its E string, and the bow wants tightening. Callas showed care in the selection of her material (there was comparatively little coloratura work and nothing that went above high C, although she used to be able to go at least to E flat), and great care in the timing of the program. She and di Stefano began with a duet, then left the stage together, and after an interminable wait he returned to sing an aria. Another interminable wait followed by her first aria. Another . . . In all, their concert was only a few minutes shorter than Tebaldi and Corelli's, although they actually sang about half as much.

However, even the greatest care could not eliminate Callas' problems. Her "*Suicidio*" (from *La Gioconda*) had, I think, the most painfully cracked pianissimo I have ever heard from a professional singer; "*Sola, perduta, abbandonata*" (*Manon Lescaut*), on the other hand, had the most painful loud

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high notes, although the highest note in it is B flat; "*Voi lo sapete*" (*Cavalleria Rusticana*) had a vibrato you could drive a four-in-hand through. What made Callas Callas—the expression, the acting—is still there, but the voice is simply not.

DI STEFANO had only two solos—a quite lovely "*Vainement, ma bien aimée*" (*Le Roi d'Ys*), and a not so lovely "*La fleur que tu m'avais jetée*" (*Carmen*)—but joined Callas in five duets. I found these the best part of the evening, for one negative and one positive reason. Negatively, two voices together tend to cover each other's imperfections; positively, Callas' dramatic ability was given more scope than in the arias. Unfortunately, except for the duet from *Cavalleria Rusticana*, they all had at least some coloratura work for the soprano. Only the garden scene from *Faust* suited her voice reasonably well.

Lord Peter Wimsey once said, in another connection, "like goin' to see the divine Sarah, you know. Voice gone, bloom gone, savor gone—but still a classic." The savor isn't quite gone; Callas' reading of one half line from *Don Carlo*—"*O Carlo, addio*"—was as superb as that half line from *Norma*—"*Son io*"—used to be. That line made it worth enduring the present condition of her voice—once. □

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

Bonus Days in Belgium

Europe has become an expensive proposition, often too expensive for Americans, as a number of readers have told me in heartfelt letters. But it is nice to know that some of the European countries that want tourists are beginning to realize this, and, though they are not exactly giving away tours, they are offering worthwhile savings. For example, there are Belgium's Bonus Days, whereby travelers from the United States and Canada get a number of privileges in Belgium if they arrive in Brussels from overseas or start their trip home from there. The bonuses include reductions on train travel and on museum and casino admissions in five cities—important, but not the real plums.

The bonuses that really matter are the hotel and restaurant discounts. The hotels in Antwerp, Brussels, Liège, Namur, and Tournai that participate in this promotion will give you a free room and breakfast on Saturday or Sunday night (some of the hotels will do it any night of the week) provided you spend the previous night in the hotel at the posted room rate. This is an even better deal than it sounds because Belgium is so small that from Brussels and most other towns you can get anywhere in a couple of hours or less, so that a free night in one town will allow you to look at the great Flemish pictures, study Renaissance architecture, take nature walks, go to the races, play golf, gamble in the casinos, and study sociology in nightclubs practically anywhere in the country.

The other plums are the dining bonuses, in the form of coupons good for a 100-franc reduction (just under $3 as I write at the beginning of April) on the price of a meal at any of the select restaurants in the participating cities. First class meals in Belgium cost roughly 400 to 1,000 francs—depending on the rate of exchange, $10 to $25, or at least one-third less than their American equivalent and a world better in food, ambience, and service. Hotels cost less than in America; a room for two at the luxury Amigo in Brussels, one of the participating hotels, is posted at 2,050 francs with breakfast, or about $55 a day. However, hotels and restaurants come in many price categories. For instance, one of the participating hotels in Tournai is the Holiday Inn, a much better thing than our local varieties, but still nothing like the Amigo or Westbury in Brussels.

There are two reasons to go to Belgium. Obviously, one reason is to go to the Kunst (Brussels' answer to the Metropolitan Museum and the Louvre) or to promenade in the hilly Ardennes (Shakespeare's Forest of Arden and still as lyrical as he imagined it) or to enjoy the architecture. Belgium is not as obviously picturesque as Italy or France; in fact, with the exception of the art cities, it always comes as a surprise that there are such treasures hidden by often grey city exteriors. But treasures there are. I am thinking of the *béguinages*, the pious ladies' homes, ravishing cities within cities; but there are also numerous beautiful castles and manor houses, and town halls to which the cliché "stone lace" really applies.

The other reason is to eat. Belgium is the one country in Europe where the food is always good, even at $2 or $3 a meal, and very often it is equal to the great food of France, at a lower price and often with more attentive service. Take the meal I had today in a Brussels restaurant called Ravenstein. The Ravenstein is charming, an old Burgurdian house that is madly historical, where you eat in small rooms furnished with honest antiques. Of course, as everywhere in Belgium where the eating is elegant, it has lots of flowers—fresh, beautiful, and expensive—on the tables. I had a lobster cocktail which was prepared before my eyes, the cooked lobster having been presented to me whole, reposing on a lacy doily. A waiter took it apart, poor little tender thing, and then placed it on a soft bed of the tenderest shredded lettuce in a glass bowl which, in turn, reposed in a silver bowl filled with ice. A romantic pink sauce went on top. My companion had a paté of eel, which sounds awful but is sublime, a white featherlight (another cliché that really applies) mousse which was as far from eel as I am from being a Greek tycoon.

OUR second course was red mullet, which we chose to have grilled but could have had a dozen other ways. The fish had been stuffed with fresh fennel and there it lay, again on lace, so rosy, so dewy. With it came infant potatoes and an herb butter. My dessert was a perfect pear, sliced and hidden under a light *sabayon* sauce into which some crumbs of *marrons glacés* had been tossed. My companion ate strawberries, the first of the year since there is no California or Texas to supply out of season goodies in Belgium. They were large and came in a box, nestled in a bed of cotton; the waiter, using a small fork, stemmed them for my friend at the table. He served the berries with a slightly frozen dollop of milk of fresh almonds, infinitely more delicious than any cream or ice cream. The whole meal came to just over $50, including a bottle of Sancerre.

And this, friends, take it from one lucky enough to have eaten her way through Belgium after looking at the art, is just one of the many super Michelin-starred restaurants that participate in Belgium's Bonus Days. □

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BOOKS

An Unshaken Hero

EDWIN M. YODER JR.

Jefferson the President: Second Term, 1805-1809
By Dumas Malone
Little, Brown, 704 pp., $14.50
Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History
By Fawn M. Brodie
Norton, 591 pp., $12.50
Thomas Jefferson: The Man . . . His World . . . His Influence
Edited by Lally Weymouth
Putnam, 254 pp., $15

The urge to rock the pedestals under our national heroes is a healthy symptom, one supposes, of our rowdy American manners, and scholars are not immune to it. As a rule, however, this mild scholarly vandalism tells us more about the scholars than the heroes they attack. Thomas Jefferson has teetered at their hands for 200 years without ever being in the least danger of a fall. These three books, each in its own way, suggest why Jefferson's reputation remains secure. When one is dealing with a President who was not only the founder of one major party but the patron saint of the other, not only architect, naturalist, and gardener, but philologist and bird fancier (he kept a pet mockingbird in the presidential office), a bit of chipping around the edges of the alabaster isn't likely to be noticed.

Indeed these new books, where critical of Mr. Jefferson, invite reflection on the biographers—the reviewers reviewed, as it were.

Fawn M. Brodie, professor of history at UCLA, has made a scholarly specialty of oddballs (e.g., Thaddeus Stevens and Joseph Smith). Her "intimate history" digs hard for Jeffersonian quirks sufficient to fit Jefferson into their eccentric company. Her aim, it seems, it to turn biographical orthodoxy on its head in the most approved psychoanalytic manner: what others, including the magisterial Professor Malone, have dismissed as the canards of partisan or personal spite, or relegated to the realm of airy speculation, she solemnly tries to establish as fact. What they document, and interpret with reference to accepted theories of human conduct, she grudgingly admits only as the overt manifestation of "unconscious" urgings and motives—although, like all such subterranean promptings, they are necessarily less apparent to the man himself than to a historian blessed with the insight of a Freud or Erikson.

Brodie is convinced that Jefferson was a sly, lusty lady's man who after the early death of his wife (in 1782) scandalized his young daughters by carrying on an affair in Paris with the English artist Maria Cosway, and in Paris and at Monticello with a lovely mulatto slave girl, Sally Hemings, breeding several "yellow" children by the latter. These alleged amours, for which the evidence is slight and circumstantial, form the centerpiece—the prurient centerpiece, one is forced to say—of a not unaffectionate portrait. Its larger theme is that Jefferson, the cerebral *philosophe*, was really a sensual creature governed, if not indeed enslaved, by carnal passions: a secret Don Juan of the Enlightenment. That these passions drew him into scandalous assignations with slave women is, so Dr. Brodie ventures, a strong clue to the waning of his youthful enthusiasm for emancipation, which in later years dwindled into weak ambivalence.

Professor Brodie offers some ingenious evidence. She has combed through Jefferson's journals and farm records to establish, at least to her own satisfaction, that every one of Sally Hemings' pregnancies followed a visit to Monticello by the master.

Like most essentially Aesopian views of history hers is more credible if you share her view that human behavior is rarely what it seems on the surface, but incredible if you don't. As a matter of fact, we know when and where the tales of Jefferson's alleged affair with "black Sally" originated. They started with the scurrilous pamphleteering of a journalist named James Callendar, who for a time enjoyed Jefferson's patronage but turned on him when Jefferson refused his bid for a sinecure. Callendar gathered the sweepings of Virginia gossip, and they had a long life, enjoying great currency during the vicious propaganda wars of Jefferson's presidential years. William Cullen Bryant, the poet, then a priggish young High Federalist of 13, set them down in a clever poem urging Jefferson's resignation: "Go scan, Philosophist, thy ****** charms,/And sink supinely in her sable arms . . ."

For the asterisks we are to read, perhaps, the unspeakable word "lover" or "wench" or "mistress." But there is no reputable evidence that the "philosophist" President ever sank supinely into anyone's sable arms. We do know that Jefferson, writing to his friend Edward Coles in 1814, denounced racial "amalgamation" as "a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in human character, can

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innocently consent." Professor Brodie, in her sly way, takes the word "innocently" as shrewd self-exculpation; but that, again, is speculation. If Jefferson hid his guilt of a dark love affair behind indignant rhetoric, it was a hypocrisy even gamier than those of which his detractors usually accuse him. It is speculation, too, that his waning zeal for emancipation, in later years, stemmed from the same inconvenient lusts. It is established history, however, that Virginia in those years was breeding slaves for the Deep South cotton boom and that emancipation was becoming a subject for silence.

PROFESSOR BRODIE'S attempt to make much of coincidence and ingenious guesswork on the subject of "black Sally" is of a piece with the pervasive psychoanalytic mode of the book. She finds vast meaning, for instance, in Jefferson's failure to use the word "chastity" very often in his writings; in his frequent use of the word "mulatto" to describe certain European soil colors; and in the hasty marriage of his elder daughter Martha on their return from France. Of all these strained speculations, the prize must surely be given to her suggestion that when Jefferson decided to remodel Monticello after his sojourn in France, "the possibility can be suggested that since buildings often symbolize in dreams the body of a woman, Jefferson . . . may have been unconsciously defining and redefining his ideal woman. . . ." It can be suggested also that Jefferson, who tinkered with his house and grounds constantly for some 40 years, wanted to incorporate the new architectural ideas he had garnered in Europe.

Professor Leonard Levy, the author of *Jefferson and Civil Liberties* and one of the contributors to the handsome Weymouth volume—which seems to be aimed at English audiences primarily—is another pedestal rocker of note. He carries on here his provocative campaign to dash Jefferson's reputation as the patron saint of personal liberty. It is a shame to ignore the more distinguished essays in this volume—for instance, Sir Kenneth Clark's delightful identification of Jefferson as an Italian Renaissance humanist—but Professor Levy's campaign calls for special attention. It rests, for the most part, on Jefferson's allegedly substandard behavior during the Burr conspiracy of 1807-08, and his exercise of unexampled presidential powers during the Embargo, when as an alternative to war he and Mr. Madison kept American merchant ships in home port.

Some of what Professor Levy says about Jefferson's inconsistencies as a libertarian is true; but much more of it, as Professor Malone's careful researches indicate, is demonstrably simplistic and polemical. Professor Levy, for example, charges that during the Embargo, when the nation squirmed in discomfort, "Jefferson never explained, never gave the facts, and never sought understanding, and he treated Congress as he did the nation, expecting blind, dutiful obedience. . . ." The facts are entirely otherwise, infinitely more complicated, and actually more interesting than devil theories spun out of a partial selection of them. Every Jefferson biographer since Henry Adams has stressed that Jefferson was not only a theorist of liberty but a subtle politician, a supple realist, who knew when to bend and dodge as policy dictated. Professor Levy is obsessed, alas, with these inconsistencies and strains to magnify them; but in doing so he tells us, with Professor Brodie, more about his own skewed notion of biography than he does about Jefferson.

BOTH Professor Levy and Professor Brodie should renew their acquaintance with Professor Dumas Malone, to whom both pay polite respects, but whose excellent example they shun. It was Henry Adams who observed that "Jefferson could only be painted touch by touch, with a fine pencil, and the perfection of the likeness depended upon the shifting and uncertain flicker of its semitransparent shadows." It was, and

Jerome A. Spiegel, *Executive Director of the Association for Mentally Ill Children, is a sponsor of the AMIC-Manhattan School, a day treatment school for autistic and schizophrenic children located in New York City. . . .* **C. Dickerman Williams** *is a prominent constitutional lawyer.*

RANDOM NOTES

JUST OUT: Maralyn and Maurice Bailey drifted at sea 117 days in a rubber dinghy, lived to write *Staying Alive!* It could be the new *Kon-Tiki!* (McKay, $10). . . . *Prisoner #7: Rudolf Hess* is by the former U.S. commandant at Spandau, Lt. Col. Eugene K. Bird (Viking, $10). . . . *The New Conservatives: A Critique from the Left* is a collection of essays on "conservatives" like Pat Moynihan (Quadrangle, $8.95). . . . John David Garcia goes after behaviorism in *Psychofraud and Ethical Therapy* (Whitmore, $6.95). . . . *New Statesman* writer John Hatch mostly salutes the new strongmen in *Africa Emergent*, but worries that they haven't fully explored the blessings of socialism (Regnery, $10; paper, $3.95). . . . Salvador de Madariaga calls his autobiography *Morning without Noon* (Atheneum, $14.95).

Bureaucrats talk back as Jack Grayson and Lou Neeb, Phase II Price Commissioner and aide, collaborate on *Confessions of a Price Controller* (Dow Jones-Irwin, $8.95). . . . Announcement of *Big Band Jazz* by British critic Albert McCarthy (Putnam's, $16.95) calls to mind, ineluctably though perhaps unfairly, Eddie Condon's crack about French jazz writer Hughes Panassie: "Do we go over there and tell them how to jump on grapes?". . . . New edition of the useful *Oxford Bible Atlas* (Oxford, $9.95). . . . Lili Hahn's diary, *White Flags of Surrender*, captures daily life in Germany during World War II (Luce, $8.95). . . . *NR* contributor Guy Davenport assembles six shorter pieces of historical fiction in *Tatlin!* (Scribner's, $9.95).

■ PAPERBACKS: Malcolm Muggeridge's tour of the Holy Land fortified his belief in Christ as God. He shares his conversion in *Jesus Rediscovered* (Pyramid, out, $1.25). . . . Now they're even reissuing leftist screeds from 1960 like William Costello's *The Facts about Nixon* (Viking, out, $2.50). . . . H. Montgomery Hyde's big life of *Stalin* due in June from Popular Library ($1.95). . . . Henry Beetle Hough of Martha's Vineyard collected his pieces in 1940 under the title *Country Editor*. Charm and nostalgia sold the book, and Chatham Press hopes history will repeat (out, $3.95).

Our two favorite spring titles, both from Price/Stern/Sloan: *I'm O.K., You're Not So Hot* by Dolph Sharp ($1.50) and *Shut Up, I'm on the Phone* by Harriet Bronson ($1). . . . April brings four Mary Renault historicals from Bantam: *The Persian Boy* ($1.50), *The King Must Die* ($1.75), *The Mask of Apollo* ($1.75), *The Charioteer* ($1.75). . . . *J. Edgar Hoover* is by *NR* contributor Ralph de Toledano (Manor, $1.75). . . . Liberal reviewers still haven't forgiven Elliott Roosevelt for *An Untold Story* (Dell, April, $1.75). . . . Just out, Garry Wills' *Bare Ruined Choirs* (Delta, $2.95).

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is, good counsel and Professor Malone follows it scrupulously. As a biographer he transcends both hagiography and iconoclasm, seeking mere explanation, which is never as titillating as praise or blame. Mere biography, which is to say mere enlightenment, has been Professor Malone's aim for some 25 years in the Jefferson biography. *Jefferson the President: Second Term* is the fifth and penultimate volume. Long but entirely absorbing, this work covers in intricate but refined detail the four years of Jefferson's second term, when the laws of political entropy were at work, as they always are during second terms. Focusing narrowly on those years, Professor Malone sheds only indirect light on the psychoanalytic questions of Professor Brodie's "intimate history." On the mystery of the sable

arms, Professor Malone had his say several volumes ago. But his discussion of both the Burr conspiracy and the Embargo, among the other salient episodes of Jefferson's last term, implicitly constitutes a withering commentary on Professor Levy's views. With ease, with masterly command of the documents, Professor Malone reconstructs Jefferson's exact reaction to the Burr plot and the later threat of war which he sought to avert by embargo. Without polemics or special pleading, Professor Malone puts down the impish clamor of the detractors. Where Jefferson's policy was inconsistent with Virginian libertarian theory—as it was in part when he seemed to condone General Wilkinson's high-handed dealings in Louisiana with the alleged conspirators—Malone merely states the facts and outlines the conditions that bore upon and limited Jefferson's judgment. He invites the reader to draw his own conclusions, as warranted, but those responses are not discreditable to Jefferson. And when one has read Malone, the *parti pris* of Levy seems even more tiresome than before.

In short Professor Malone's fine-penciled treatment of neither great event, the Burr conspiracy or the foreign crisis leading to the Embargo, is calculated to exalt or debase Jefferson. Jefferson behaved as any skilled President might have behaved. He did not neglect his party—he was, as Professor Malone reminds us, the first President to function also as party leader—but he was concerned, basically, for the safety and survival of the infant republic.

When Burr set out (as we now know from the foreign archives) to dismember the western United States, Jefferson relied not on strongarm or imperious moves (he recalled his disgust with Hamilton's handling of the farmers' whisky rebellion in Pennsylvania) but rather on two faiths: he believed that the western settlers, overwhelmingly loyal, would not follow Burr; he believed that Congress, to which he deferred to a degree striking to recall in the age of the imperial Presidency, could be counted on to authorize such emergency measures as were warranted and no more. In both beliefs he was rewarded. The obstructive behavior of his kinsman, Chief Justice Marshall, in the later Burr trial fortified his suspicion that the Judiciary was a Federalist engine set against him, and on this subject he unburdened himself to friends. But nothing he *did* indicated the bloodthirstiness or lack of faith in democratic institutions with which he is sometimes charged; quite the contrary.

As for the Embargo, it was an unfortunate episode; but since the U.S. was no naval power and had no prospect of quickly becoming one, it is difficult to imagine a more plausible response to the "piracy" (as he considered it) of American merchant ships. And *pace* Mr. Levy, the the rationale was made amply clear to the nation and Congress and supported by both.

Professor Malone has been accused, by others, of a certain blandness; but I have been absolutely absorbed in this richly detailed, graceful, and brilliantly constructed narrative. It catches, touch by touch, the flickering transparent shadows of Mr. Jefferson. Professor Malone, indeed, has had the courage of his conviction that Thomas Jefferson was a great man and President whose standing is self-evident. And that, I suspect, will be the judgment of others in other times. □

The Heart's Home
By Bruno Bettelheim
Knopf, 641 pp., $12.50

BETTELHEIM'S REVISIONS

JEROME A. SPIEGEL

It is inspiring to discover that a mature person can continue to grow in philosophical outlook while retaining a basically sound concern for his fellow man. Even more so when that person is a famous individual, an outstanding theoretician and dedicated practitioner.

Inspiring, then, is the word for the new book by Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, specialist in child mental health. In his sensitively written, handsomely illustrated *The Heart's Home*, Dr. Bettelheim takes us on an intimate tour through the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School for Children diagnosed autistic or schizophrenic, the school whose director he became 30 years ago in Chicago. He shares, in moving detail, his slow progress in building a structure not only to contain children but to be a nutrient environment to them. By structure, I might add, he means both the architecture of the building and the design and training of the staff.

The big shift in Dr. Bettelheim's thinking is that he no longer places emphasis on the damaging effects of parental handling as a prime causative factor in childhood mental illness. Indeed, he says that when a child enters the school, "we try to convince the parents that they must be satisfied with the thought that they have done the very best for him." Apparently Dr. Bettelheim has now satisfied himself that the ego-building process in a sick child is a complex one that depends on a circular interaction between him and significant others in the environment.

It would be interesting to speculate on what has changed Dr. Bettelheim's mind. Perhaps it was the years since 1943 when Dr. Les Kanner first identified the syndrome he named "infantile autism" at just about the time Dr. Bettelheim became director of the Orthogenic School. These intervening years of professional involvement with the plight of the mentally ill child (and perhaps the participation of me and my staff at the AMIC-Manhattan School) may have had an influence on Dr. Bettelheim. More important still, let us

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hope he was moved by the many parents of autistic and schizophrenic children he has met along the way; no strangely cold, rejecting creatures or "refrigerator parents" but bewildered human beings, vastly different from one another but universally perplexed by the difficult to diagnose, unpredictable clinical entity from which their children suffer. Dr. Bettelheim can still say what he has always said, that "the most important ingredient for the work [of helping these sick children] is deep respect for the patient as a human being who has been severely hurt by life." He no longer dwells on the parents, however, as the perpetrators of that hurt. It is the child and his uniqueness in interpreting and responding that have now become Dr. Bettelheim's focus, not the child's parents. As for the goal—early in his book Dr. Bettelheim emphasizes that it is "developing autonomy in the patient."

The method for achieving that goal is "total milieu therapy," which provides a loving, understanding, supporting structure of place and persons (the heart's home of the title) until such time as the child can internalize some self-love and structure of his own, the beginning of autonomy. Gimmicks are eschewed and in a brilliant aside Dr. Bettelheim exposes the limits of "behavior mod" techniques.

"The common psychological understanding of the children's needs forms the basis of the institution's integration," Dr. Bettelheim says. It is in describing this integration of services and their relation to enhancing and preserving the dignity of the child that Dr. Bettelheim's book is most engrossing. Through colored photos, drawings, and charts, Dr. Bettelheim imprints his concept. Deploring the dehumanizing structure of those large, public institutions for the mentally ill studied by Erving Goffmon, he also attacks the better, but still traditional model of the private asylum pecking-order of staffing. Instead of the usual hierarchy of services with the MD psychiatrist as "Chief," Dr. Bettelheim's treatment agents attain status on the basis of how much helping contact they offer to the child, what he calls "letting what workers do for the patient determine the hierarchy." Staff interaction is intensive, and democratic procedures start at intake; each child must be voted in by a majority of the staff. It should be noted here that Dr. Bettelheim, sometimes cited as an iron-willed authoritarian, claims to have only twice vetoed the staff's decision on an intake.

As someone who has worked for over a decade with autistic children, I feel that Dr. Bettelheim's claims for 85 per cent cure of these severely disturbed children admitted to the Orthogenic School is the weakest portion of his book. In discussing cures of schizophrenic children, as has been pointed out elsewhere, one always cites cases, never numbers. The cases selected by Dr. Bettelheim and his staff have the character of participating in a "self-fulfilling prophecy." We tend always to prefer tasks at which we think we can succeed. Though Dr. Bettelheim's children, presented in his earlier books, *Love Is Not Enough, Truants from Life*, and *The Empty Fortress*, make absorbing and dramatic reading, I wonder how we might compare them with cases presented by our state hospitals. Such public asylums, aside from being exemplars of many of the worst features in traditional "madhouses," are also forced to admit the very children Dr. Bettelheim might have the luxury of rejecting.

And what of other approaches to the autistic or schizophrenic child? Dr. Bettelheim makes no mention of the successes achieved in a day school of the kind I head, which, for the past decade, has been serving mentally ill children whose parents want them to live at home.

On the other hand, it must be said, to Dr. Bettelheim's credit, that he does not attribute to staff-patient interrelationship within the total milieu institution a charismatic bond which can easily become an end in itself. "Today when there is so much loose talk about having to be a schizophrenic in order to understand one or to help him, it is even more important to make sure that the worker's intent is not to establish a *folie à deux* with the patient." In short, the intensive therapeutic bond is and should be a transient one, aimed at returning the patient to the "real, outside world."

"The success of a therapeutic milieu depends on the soundness of its view of man," and with those words of Dr. Bettelheim one cannot quarrel. Indeed it is interesting to note his comments on the training of his staff and apply them, as well, to ideals he sets for his patients. "A psychiatric institution," he says, "needs to be so conceived that it will bring out the best in fairly ordinary persons." The work "is based on personal commitment . . . rather than on professional detachment." He adds, "effectiveness comes from the seriousness of the efforts at achieving the goal, never from having accomplished it."

Dr. Bettelheim retired from the Orthogenic School last year. This book serves as a fitting valedictory. He encourages us to live in dignity and hope—in fulfillment, commitment, seriousness. He takes as illustration the least promising among us, the mentally ill child, to show that it can be done. It is a rich legacy he leaves to the field of mental health practitioners and to families with "special" children everywhere. □

The Theater of Politics
By Ferdinand Mount
Schocken, 276 pp., $7.95

LIBERAL CONSERVATISM

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

Conservatives are often accused of being nineteenth century liberals. Ferdinand Mount, however, is liberal in the eighteenth century sense of the word: open and comprehensive of mind, generous in spirit. It is a shame that the word has lost, in current usage, its old resonance, its suggestion of these virtues, and has come to smack of their opposite vices, a factional and doctrinaire temper, and an attitude toward disagreement that is not so much intolerant as simply uncomprehending. It is ironic that "liberal" was among Burke's favorite terms of praise (I don't think he—or any of his contemporaries—ever used the word "conservative"). But even those liberals who nowadays like to insist that *they* are the real Burkeans will have a hard time explaining away Mount's book. Drawing heavily on Burke—and at the same time expounding and defending him—he champions what has become, curiously, a conservative cause: popular self-government.

The rich part is that he champions it

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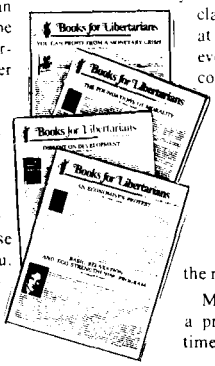

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COMFORT, THE JOY OF SEX / As its subtitle suggests, this is "a gourmet guide to lovemaking," a guide for "adventurous and uninhibited lovers" who enjoy sex as they have it now, but who want to go from there to explore their ability to enjoy it more fully. *The Joy of Sex* is a goldmine of mature, humane good sense, head and shoulders above anything else in the field. **BFL Price $12.95**

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HOSPERS, LIBERTARIANISM / One of the finest introductions to the libertarian political philosophy presently available. Written in a very conversational style, Hospers integrates most of the major arguments of libertarians, past and present, with many new insights of his own. A very useful work. **BFL Price $10/$2.95**

JAMES AND JONGEWARD, BORN TO WIN / This book is something rare in the annals of psychological literature. It is at once the most complete introduction to Transactional Analysis (TA) now in print and an imaginative "do-it-yourself" manual for self-analysis, discovery and growth. The basic concepts of TA are illustrated with beautiful and compelling photographs which complement the text and experiments drawn from Fritz Perls' Gestalt Therapy are used to exemplify and apply the basic psychological insights. **BFL Price $4.95**

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LEPANTO, RETURN TO REASON / This is the first summary of the philosophy of Objectivism to appear in print. It is a well-written overview of the essentials of the philosophy which will be of value mostly to those newly acquainted with Ayn Rand. **BFL Price $6**

MENCKEN, THE VINTAGE MENCKEN, COOKE (ed.) / One of the best Mencken anthologies, this work collects Mencken's essays on a wide variety of topics, from "Introduction to the Universe" to "The Nomination of F.D.R." **BFL Price $1.95**

MISES, HUMAN ACTION / One of the greatest works in economic thought of all time, *Human Action* is a complete, systematic treatise on economics, covering every major topic of the science of economics. An encyclopedia of arguments in defense of liberty. **BFL Price $17.50**

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ROTHBARD, FOR A NEW LIBERTY / In this sweeping manifesto, one of the giants of libertarianism presents his own ideological system. Rothbard discusses the current state of the libertarian movement, derives and defines its basic principles, applies them to far-reaching solutions to today's political problems and maps out a "strategy for liberty." Perhaps the single best introduction to libertarianism now available. **BFL Price $7.95**

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SCHOECK, ENVY / *Envy* is a remarkable and definitive study of the phenomenon of envy as a political, social and psychological occurrence. Schoeck discusses envy from virtually every perspective, covering envy in language, social relationships, magic, underdeveloped countries, crime, fiction, philosophy and a host of related issues and fields. A pathbreaking and important work. **BFL Price $3.95**

SPENCER, SOCIAL STATICS / This is Herbert Spencer's most systematic work in political philosophy and an excellent defense of libertarianism. Spencer develops and applies the law of equal liberty: "every man should have the freedom to do all that he wills, provided that he infringes not on the freedom of any other man." **BFL Price $5**

SZASZ, THE SECOND SIN / *The Second Sin* is a collection of aphorisms and other pithy remarks much in the manner of H. L. Mencken by America's most reasonable and scholarly psychiatrist, Thomas Szasz. **BFL Price $5.95**

TUCCILLE, IT USUALLY BEGINS WITH AYN RAND / A relatively humorous overview of the libertarian movement, containing a great deal of questionable material together with some insightful reflections on the movement. Very mixed book, particularly with respect to its treatment of Rand and Rothbard. **BFL Price $2.95**

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against those who (like Karl Popper) think they are for it. The modern liberal is for giving "the people" (as opposed to just "people") what they want, all right; the trouble is that this liberal defines their wants abstractly, because he defines *them* abstractly ("*the* people" suggests that they are uniform and that they think, desire, and act as one). Defining men as equals, he decides they must want, above all else, equality. Their other wants—acquisitiveness, local and particular attachments and affections—appear to him extraneous and excrescent, making ugly and irregular the entire landscape as he views it from the height of his speculative balloon. Such wants don't issue from his definition, and may be disregarded or circumvented for the sake of those that do. He is eager to deploy the tax collectors and school buses.

BUT "politics" gets in the way, reflecting and serving these narrow and disorderly wants. How to get around politics? One way is to set the "real" wants "above" politics, disguising them as constitutional imperatives. The other (with which Mount is more concerned) is to invent a *new* politics. But the "new" politics, Mount reminds us, has a long genealogy, one that (as many of us know) should give us pause. He tries to clarify our thinking about politics by observing the inadequacy of the old paradigms on which political thought has been based and by offering an alternative.

There are three old paradigms: politics as battle (the clash of interests, resolved by sheer force); politics as pilgrimage (the collective approach by "a" society to moral perfection); politics as science (the construction, from scratch, of a purely rational social order). All three—and they are often fused—are inimical to conciliation and compromise, which are of the essence of real politics. We shall do better, Mount argues, to think of politics as a kind of theater.

He takes this idea from Burke, who observed that no theatrical audience would so far abandon "all natural sense of wrong and right" as to tolerate on the stage the spectacle of a dramatic character (let alone a sympathetic one) employing the bloody calculus of the French revolutionaries—"weighing, as it were in scales hung in a shop of horrors, so much actual crime against so much contingent advantages, and after putting in and out weights, declaring that the balance was on the side of the advantages." In the theater of politics, the common moral sensibilities of the audience are respected; the politician as actor must win them over by appeal to shared sentiments (Burke's "prejudices") and symbols, ideally leading them, but in any case not imposing or presuming on their virtue; and though no victory is final, peace and community are usually preserved. After all, Mount argues, people do ordinarily know what is good for them (at least as well as anyone who is likely to hold power over them), and they tend to get their way anyhow. Wisdom dictates that they enjoy a certain right to be wrong—we call it liberty—that avoids the evils of compelling them to be right, or of pretending they are *always* right. To "get around politics" is really to get around people.

This little book is not only wise but readable; and rereadable. Those who treasure literate and civil controversy will delight in it. Mount is as good a quoter as he is a writer, and he moves easily from Molière to Murray Kempton. And he is respectful as well as dauntless in taking on—victoriously, in my judgment—such formidable adversaries as Karl Popper, R. D. Laing, and Enoch Powell. He well exemplifies the supple, tolerant, *liberal* conservatism he espouses. □

Lawyer's Lawyer: The Life of John W. Davis
By William H. Harbaugh
Oxford, 648 pp., $15

OLD LINE DEMOCRAT

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

The career of John W. Davis illustrates the great rewards won by outstanding court lawyers—men who could quickly assimilate complicated facts, who could correctly, or, at least, plausibly, analyze those facts in relation to principles of law and then express themselves with clarity and force. The careers of such men often, if not usually, involved them in politics, as their talents were also highly useful in political debate and they enjoyed activity in public affairs. Davis oddly enough enjoyed political activity less than such men ordinarily do—although, almost despite himself, he became a member of Congress, Solicitor General (the lawyer who argues on behalf of the government its more important cases before the Supreme Court), ambassador to Great Britain, and candidate of the Democratic Party for President of the United States. But he achieved these positions because of the pressure of friends and a sense of duty. His supreme pleasure came from court work, which he did superlatively well.

THERE IS for a court lawyer no satisfaction to compare with that which he derives from a court appearance in which he has, in his own opinion, put on a "good show." And Davis constantly put on a good show—in the opinion of observers, including judges, opposing lawyers, associated lawyers, clients, and those members of the public who happened to be present. The biography does not say, but we can assume from Davis' lack of enthusiasm for office that he concurred. One celebrated *tour de force* was his argument before a New York intermediate appellate court of an appeal from the conviction of fellow lawyer Isidor Kresel for an alleged violation of the banking laws, followed only a few minutes later by the argument of a complex insurance case before New York's court of last resort —the Court of Appeals. He won both cases. His argument of the Kresel case was impassioned and lasted five hours. The Court of Appeals offered to wait until the following morning, but Davis was able, ready, and willing to argue right away, and did so. The respective courthouses are, incidentally, on the same hill in Albany, the courthouse of the intermediate appellate court halfway up the hill and the Court of Appeals at the bottom of the hill. After the first argument he simply walked down the hill and made the second one.

Davis' theory of appellate argument (for which he is still known by appellate lawyers) was: "Go for the jugular." That is, find a controlling issue and concentrate on that, rather than argue every point. Hughes, Davis' great rival at the appellate bar in the 1920s, did methodically argue every point. (I shall spare the reader my own views on this subject.)

Davis had reasons for success other than his strategy of presentation. His arguments inspired such comments as the following: "He was like Caruso

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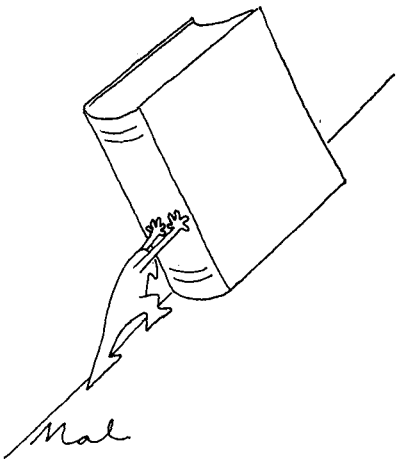
singing; and the bench and bar sat there enraptured." "His soft spoken manners, his absence of pretension: all were deeply impressive."

Davis' rewards were many, in addition to the satisfaction of dramatic work well done and generally appreciated. Following his return to the bar after his service as ambassador he enjoyed a large income; he was the head of a large and outstandingly successful law firm; he was surrounded by able partners and associates who, together with his clients, admired and respected him; he was in demand not only socially and by the "best people," but also for professional and other public associations and committees.

Yet, although he conscientiously performed these public and professional duties (he was president, for example, of the American Bar Association, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, and the Council on Foreign Relations), it would seem that his heart was not truly involved. The executive secretary of the City Bar Association, asked why Davis had not been a "more effective" president, replied: "I think that he was more interested in his practice."

As regards public affairs his views were those of the old line Democrat. He believed in laissez-faire; he opposed centralized power and bureaucratic interference, including tariffs. Holding these views, although he regarded himself as a Democrat and had been the Party's candidate for President in 1924, he was unable to support any Democratic Party candidate for President after 1932. He respected the doctrine of *stare decisis*; that is, the doctrine that cases should be decided on the basis of precedent. He was unhappy with the tendency of the Supreme Court after 1936 to overrule precedent. Fortunately death spared him all but a couple of years of the Warren Court.

Davis had warm sympathies which were specially aroused by injustice. He took to the Supreme Court without fee a case for a Yale professor who, in his opinion, was wrongly denied naturalization; again, without fee, he defended New York lawyer Isidor Kresel in two long and exhausting trials and in the appeal already referred to. He was indignant that Governor Smith should be opposed in the presidential election of 1928 on the ground that he was a Catholic and worked vigorously for



him, touring a number of states on his behalf. In particular, he made a long and eloquent speech on nationwide radio in October 1928 urging that Smith's Catholicism was an irrelevant factor and denouncing the injection of religion into the campaign. Davis was loyal to friends including even those who were in no sense close; thus, he testified as a character witness for Judge Martin Manton (federal judge convicted of accepting bribes) and Alger Hiss (foundation executive convicted of perjury).

Davis argued more cases in the Supreme Court than any other lawyer since Daniel Webster. The author does not of course attempt to depict the issues in all these cases; he selects a few that he regards as of paramount public importance. These are cases in which, as Solicitor General, he argued on behalf of the government, and cases in which, years later, being in private practice, he opposed the government. The leading cases in the latter category are the steel seizure case (*Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer*), in which he successfully represented steel manufacturers objecting to the seizure of their plants, and the school desegregation case, in which he unsuccessfully represented the State of South Carolina (*Brown* v. *Board of Education*) objecting to the desegregation of its schools by order of the courts of the U.S. Government. In both these cases he was true to his philosophy, viz., opposition to the commands of centralized power.

Davis of course had views on subjects other than domestic problems. As a former ambassador he was alert to the international situation. He fully supported the entry of the United States into World War II. He opposed the Korean War, however, when President Truman telephoned him in June 1950 to ask for his advice. Davis had apparently been sickened by the loss of life and meager results of the two World Wars and had become something of an isolationist—at least insofar as military involvement was concerned.

The book has been carefully researched and is written in a clear style; but unfortunately, at least for me, the author, a professor of history at Oxford, is a hard core liberal and devout believer in centralized power. What his qualifications are for sitting in judgment on Davis, he fails to reveal, but he repeatedly does so sit. Moreover, he drags in irrelevant material to belittle Davis' clients. For instance, he precedes his account of the steel seizure case with pages of narrative about the grievances of the steelworkers. The author fails to show any connection between this narrative and Davis' work in that case.

Davis was a most able and admirable man. He has been fortunate that the author of what will undoubtedly be his definitive biography is so thorough and so clear; unfortunate that he is so unsympathetic with his philosophy. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Secret War in Tibet, *by Michel Peissel (Little, Brown, 258 pp., illus., $7.95).* Few figures have more consistently fired romantic imaginations than that of the hardy, independent mountaineer, half brigand, half patriot, standing alone against the organized forces of oppression. One thinks of the Scottish Highland clansmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Suliotes of the early Greek struggle for independence, and the feudal warriors of Ethiopia squaring off against the power of modern Italy. Now, Michel Peissel, a serious scholar of Tibetan culture, has given us a new example of this classic type—the cavaliers of Khamba—feudal tribesmen who have mounted one of the longest guerrilla resistances in recent history against the legions of Mao. Some of them fight on to this day in remote corners of Tibet, and their truly epic story is well told by M. Peissel in a style reminiscent of Lowell Thomas' *Lawrence of Arabia* with considerably greater depth and dimension added. Recommended reading for scholars of guerrilla warfare, China watchers, adventure buffs, and anyone who appreciates the ancient qualities of pride, courage, and primitive patriotism so scarce in our tepid modern setting. ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

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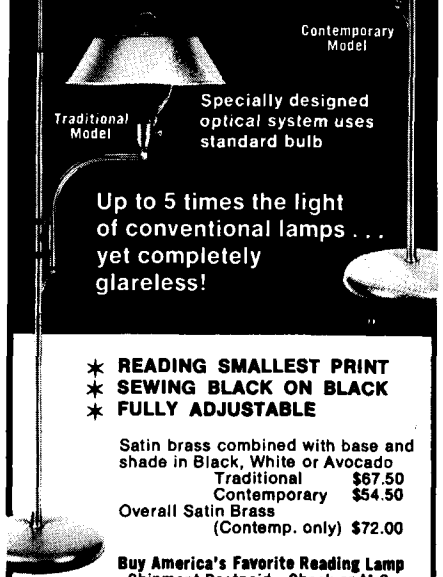

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LETTERS

(*Continued from page 508*)

Ornstein to wonder *why* there were only 1,500 black PhDs? Given the returns to a black from acquiring a PhD a few years ago *v.* the cost (and rates of return for blacks and women are historically much lower than for white males), I would say blacks were making perfectly sensible economic decisions.

Quotas should be viewed as a dramatic way of changing the incentive to invest in oneself by significantly raising returns. The real issue here is whether quotas are likely to promote misallocation in the long run. When the new, well trained blacks come to the market, it will be in the best interest of the firm to fill its quota with them and fire the unproductive blacks whose only contribution was quota-filling. Then, if blacks' native abilities are not inferior, quotas will not misallocate resources.

If, on the other hand, their native abilities are inferior, quotas will have to be judged at that point on whether or not they redistribute income efficiently and in a manner appropriate to our value judgments. On these grounds they are probably worse than a negative income tax, but perhaps better than welfare payments.

Middletown, Conn. MARNIE W. MUELLER
Department of Economics
Wesleyan University

Improbable Dialogue

Your issue of January 18 has just reached me here in Dublin, for which I assume I can blame either Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, whose official job here is Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, or maybe the British, or perhaps Senator Kennedy. Anyhow, having broken a fingernail extracting the large pieces of cardboard with which American magazine proprietors prevent their would-be readers from turning the pages of their publications, I note on p. 95 of this issue ["Son et Lumière," by Aram Bakshian] that Honoré de Balzac never "managed to come to terms with reality" and on the following page a statement ["Forgive Us This Day," by Mario Lazo] that the CIA was created in 1940. How about a dialogue between these two perceptive and well-informed critics, perhaps in mutually incomprehensible languages?

Dublin CONSTANTINE FITZGIBBON

Although Mr. Lazo implied that Howard Hunt had been in the CIA for 21 years as of 1961, he meant that Hunt had been in the CIA for 21 years when he left it in 1970. —ED.

Niemeyer

Gerhart Niemeyer's column, "The Politics of Hope" [March 29] was most timely and true to the mark. I have been waiting for someone to address the nexus between one's Christian outlook and one's

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political outlook. Mr. Niemeyer has hit upon the proper touchpoint in his explication of Paul's notion of hope vis-a-vis the various counterfeit notions that can never "admit of a life of hope" because, being limited "to things of this world," their death is immanent in their very formulation.

Those of us who are particularly attracted to Paul's interpretation of the meaning of those things secured for us by Jesus Christ have no doubt one time or another wrestled with his exhortations in Romans pertaining to civil obedience only to emerge with a dissatisfied sense of "resigned passivity." Mr. Niemeyer has put the whole matter into proper perspective, I think, by showing that through the Christian concept of hope one's political concerns are given a more realistic and tractable frame of reference within which to operate effectively.

Pittsburgh, Pa. MILES W. MEYER

Gerhart Niemeyer ["Crisis and Renewal," Feb. 15] doesn't mention the continuing promotion of public funding for election campaigns as a remedy for the "crisis of confidence." Any system of draining the public treasury to finance campaigns will be vulnerable to official mismanagement, ineptness, corruption, lawbreaking, inequities, and partisan manipulation—the same traditional and disreputable aspects of politics which are heightening the "crisis of confidence" now. Public campaign funding will not insulate elections from pressure group activity, which will simply become less conspicuous. Public campaign funding will make the biggest pressure group of all—the official "establishment" —more dominant than it is now, because incumbents will inevitably have more control over resources for their reelection.

The vote is only the final indication of support for any candidate. His ability to raise money for a campaign is now a major indication of the support he commands. If the electorate loses the option to deny financial support, it ultimately loses a large measure of its ability to put authority and power into the hands of the most desirable candidates and take it away from incumbents who go astray. How is this prospect different from the "crisis of confidence" plaguing us now?

Bethlehem, Pa. RICHARD CARL SUBBER

Correction

Re your item on the Rosenbergs ["The Week," March 29], did you mean *30* years (as stated), or rather, *20* years? Time might fly, but I certainly hope not *that* fast. I mean, it was in the early Fifties when the events referred to in the article took place, I think. But never mind, just continue the excellent magazine . . .

Arlington, Va. GERALD L. REXRODE

Mr. Rexrode is, of course, right—the Rosenbergs were executed 21 years ago, in 1953. —ED.

JONES

(Continued from page 536)

by September its $5.98 country-and-western albums to some customers who paid by mail in April.

There are some mighty prominent names here (I might have mentioned the IRS, which routinely takes ten weeks to send refunds)—not like my little company, which you've probably never heard of. But our customer service history was just as good as many of these—better than most, in fact. Yet an ambitious attorney general was able to get a secret court order generating what his office later admitted was a test case, designed to establish a precedent for future corporate charter revocations in consumerism cases.

But who is to say when imperfect customer service is the symptom of fraudulent intent, without a full and fair inquiry? The Ralph Naders, both in and outside government, have fostered the idea that businessmen's motives are per se suspect, and that to attack business is to serve the consumer. The idea is finding great favor among politicians.

It assumes that everything a business plans must work out successfully. Business has its Edsels, just as government has its cranberries and its phosphate detergents. When a company's plans go haywire occasionally, does that make the businessman a criminal? Some of Henry J. Kaiser's World War II Victory ships broke in two, but nobody charged him with evil intent.

Business school libraries are full of case histories of sick companies that became well, to the lasting benefit of consumers, employees, and owners. As Professor George Stigler recently wrote, "We are now going through a new period of salvation by public reform. . . . It is of regulation that the consumer must beware."

And Mary Bennett Peterson, in *The Regulated Consumer*, sums it up: "Rapidly expanding government control is inherently uneconomic as well as—ironically—anticonsumer. It restricts the consumer's right of free choice in the marketplace, imposes added production costs that price goods out of his reach, or denies him the use of natural resources. Free enterprise is the consumer's best servant. But it is being smothered by interventionistic regulation of industry, which ultimately means regulation of the consumer."

Besides: who will regulate our regulators? □

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(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

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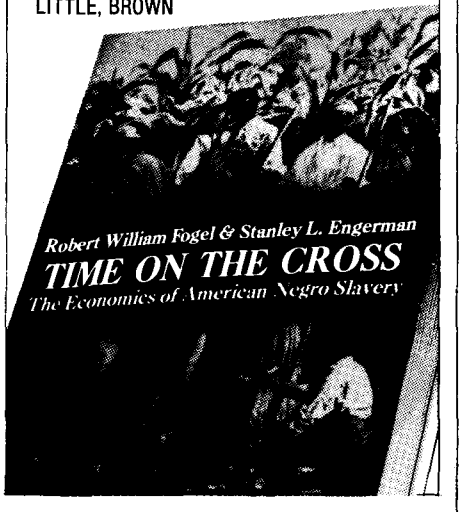

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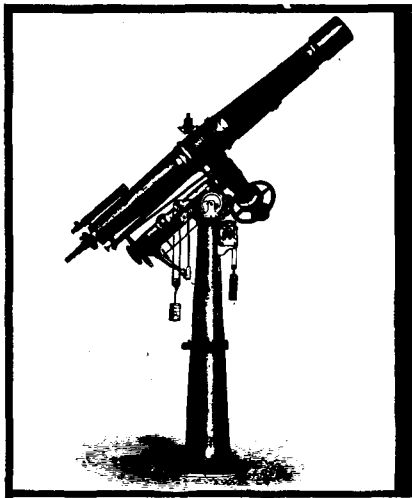

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Paralysis of Mr. Nixon

On The Right

New York, April 12—Mr. Nixon is in a hell of a mess, and never mind for a minute the question what share of the responsibility he deserves for it. It has now come to the point of apparently serious discussion whether he can take his dogs on Air Force One to California without reimbursing the United States Government. As has been pointed out, when this kind of thing was tried on Franklin Delano Roosevelt, he turned it around with withering skill and almost got the best of Westbrook Pegler. I say almost, because where FDR was concerned, the charge was that special trips were authorized exclusively for the sake of Fala. It has not been alleged that Air Force One was specially dispatched for the sake of picking up King Timahoe. Merely that the setter rode in the airplane. I do not believe Cotton Mather would have found anything immoral in this, but Nixon's critics, having tuned up, find it easier to bay through the night than to use restraint in anything involving Nixon.

THERE IS a congressman on the Judiciary Committee, a "hardliner" is how the morning paper identifies him. He is angry at what he considers the contumacious conduct of President Nixon. What is it this time? Well, Nixon wants until April 22 to hand over the tapes requested by the Committee. Nixon's lawyer says, mind you, that he is making no commitment to hand over all those tapes at that time. The commitment, rather, is to hand over those tapes which Nixon feels relate directly to the Watergate controversy. If Nixon were prepared to hand over the tapes without any qualification, obviously there would be no point in waiting until April 22. He could as well hand them over this morning. What the congressman is saying, in other words, is that the White House has no right to pass independent judgment on whether these tapes refer in any way to Watergate. Mind you it is always possible that, having found that a particular tape does refer to Watergate, and that it does so in a damaging way, that tape will be withheld; or that the President will attempt to withhold it. Still, the attitude of presumptive distrust is very nearly poisonous.

Nixon goes to France, to attend the memorial services for Georges Pompidou. And while he is there, he occupies himself with meetings with the heads of state assembled there. He spends time with everyone, possibly excluding the 11-year-old son of King Hussein. Everyone agrees that our relations with Europe are in disrepair. Everyone agrees that it is a matter of the highest priority that we should do something about it. But all of a sudden a critical community which is not known for the accent it puts on showing reverence for the remains of Georges Pompidou, may he rest in peace, finds it profane that Nixon should take the opportunity to talk about the problems of the living. I cannot imagine that this criticism would have been leveled at Dwight Eisenhower, or John Kennedy, or even Lyndon Johnson. The tone, on the contrary, would have been altogether approving: President at Pompidou Rites/Seeks European Accord. And lots of approving editorials.

Take the Russian trip. Everyone is ready to criticize it. I am ready to criticize it, but so help me I was just as ready before Watergate, because it is my conviction that we have been morally fleeced by the Communist world during Nixon's reign. But the people who were elated at Nixon's discovery of the joys of life under Chairman Mao, and who congratulated Nixon most heartily for his conclusion of the SALT accords wherein we agreed like little gentlemen to military inferiority, are now putting Nixon in a position where he literally can't win. If he drives a bargain that is good for America, the Soviet Union will balk: and Nixon's critics will say that the Soviet Union can't do business with Nixon because he is playing, in the fleeted phrase of Senator Javits, "impeachment politics." He is being tough on the Soviet Union —they will say—to impress the guys back home. On the other hand, if he does make a deal with the Soviet Union, they will say that he is so anxious to score, he is ready to give the Soviet Union the U.S. Marine Corps Band, so as to be able to come back victorious.

The tragedy is that there is no apparent escape from this rut. The position of the critics is too nearly adamant, and Nixon has made too many political and psychological mistakes. It is a reason why men of true vision are less concerned now with individual justice than with the wellbeing of the Republic. □

NIXON AND THE TAXES

New York, April 16 —I am everywhere informed that Mr. Nixon has suffered grievously on account of the tax delinquency. On the other hand—in almost every case—I am being told about other people's indignation. I wonder whether it is a synthetic indignation: whether, in fact, it is a matter of everybody knowing how everybody else feels, while personally exempt from that feeling. What is true is that a lot of people are taking pleasure from Mr. Nixon's reverses.

A GREAT DEAL is to be learned from what becomes now the saga of Mr. Nixon's taxes, concerning which a few observations:

1. I have nowhere seen any explanation for the failure to consummate the gift of his vice presidential papers. It isn't as though by waiting past that critical date in July he might have hoped to enhance the value of the contribution. And there was plenty of warning that July 25 might be the effective date after which deductions would not be permitted. So what happened? I can think of no other explanation than extraordinary mismanagement by Mr. Nixon's bookkeepers.

2. That raises the question whether the so-called backdating was offensive to the moral sense. What it evidently was, was illegal. But illegal only in the purely formal sense. I.e., noneffective. I give you an example. Suppose you telephone your lawyer on June 1 and say to him: I have decided to will my estate to my daughter. Then you leave town for two months. On your return, the lawyer brings you your will to sign.

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How should it be dated? June 1 or August 1? I am sure that testamentary experts have an answer to this question, very likely different answers in different places. It could make a great difference—in England, for instance. There a gift, for example, is taxed at a different rate if turned over less than three years before the donor's death, so that it matters a great deal just when the "constructive" gift was made. Let the lawyers make the decision in the individual case. Suffice it to say, meanwhile, that there is every reason to suppose that Mr. Nixon made the constructive gift well before the deadline, and that he is now paying close to a half million dollars extra tax on account of the extravagant inefficiency of his staff.

3. The whole argument about Nixon having paid fewer taxes than the local plumber is altogether beside the point. There are very good arguments against a public official laying claim to papers he accumulated while in public service, and if I had to vote, it would be that said papers are public property. But that is not how they have been treated. For at least a generation, Presidents have kept their papers, and turned them over, often with tax benefits, to whomever they chose. FDR didn't consult Congress about the resting place for his papers, neither did Hoover, Truman, LBJ, or the estate of John Kennedy. Accordingly, the furor over the Nixon papers is in the nature of a bill of attainder, and I don't like that, and neither should the people; and who knows, maybe they don't, really.

4. Though one is helpless on the little items, one wonders, really, if there are any limits to pettifoggery. If you retain a bookkeeper to keep track of all deductible expenses, that is what the bookkeeper is going to do. And if you donate a bag of salted peanuts to the church bazaar, it is the bookkeeper's responsibility to figure out what a bag of salted peanuts is worth, and to take a deduction which you may not even be aware of. To suggest that the man who does this is a Scrooge, scheming to screw the exchequer, is quite simply naive. Now if the deduction is for some reason improper, then it is disallowed. It is a singular vice of the tax system that this is not an open and shut question. It is often a value question: like whether Tricia's party was really a family affair or really a public affair, or half and half, or one quarter and three quarters, or whatever. Everybody has a chance to argue his case with the tax court. Except Mr. Nixon, who is in a general bind and is losing his freedom of action. Perhaps it is true that the fault was his to begin with. But the gloating is ours, and is unseemly. □

SHOCKLEY AT YALE

New York, April 20 —At Yale University the other night Professor William Shockley was to debate with Mr. William Rusher of NATIONAL REVIEW the whole business of Negro psychometric inferiority and what should be done about it. What should be done about it, in the opinion of Professor Shockley, is something on the order of genetic manipulation, for the purpose of improving the human species. You would use sperm banks, contributed by the very brightest men, destined to impregnate the very brightest women around; and before too long we would all be sounding, though not one hopes looking, like Albert Einstein.

This is a drastic compression of Shockley's position, and if I have some of the words wrong, never mind—because the music is right. Shockley is the complete liberal. His judgments are scientific and his values are, well, derived from empirical conclusions. Bright people are better than dumb people. Therefore let's have more bright people and less dumb people. Therefore get babies formed by the union of bright spermatozoa and bright ova: and after a while, you get Shockley-land.

What happened at Yale is now quite generally known. The debaters arrived, they stood on the platform for one hour and 15 minutes during which the audience jeered and booed and hissed; finally, Shockley, being brighter than a lot of other people, realized that, to adapt slightly what they used to say in the South in days gone by, there ain't no Shockley goin' to speak here tonight. So he left, escorted by marshals.

The role of Yale University was ambivalent. On the one hand, President Kingman Brewster begged undergraduate organizations not to invite Shockley to the campus. Not so much because Shockley's appearance would result in disorder—it is hard for the president of a university to stress this point, because it is the equivalent of saying that he cannot keep order in his own house. He put it differently, stressing how obnoxious are the doctrines of Dr. Shockley, and how offensive to the racial minority of black students at Yale. Here he has a point, though it is not one he is given to adducing about other speakers representing, say, the Communist movement. One would assume that at least as large a minority of Yale students is offended by the spectacle on campus of those representatives of great totalitarian systems who roam the world seeking the destruction of souls.

And then also, to stress Dr. Shockley's disqualifications, Mr. Brewster noted that he is not a trained geneticist. Shockley is somewhat difficult to handle because he got a Nobel Prize for something or other having to do with transistors. At Stanford University, they have refused to permit Shockley to teach a course on his new enthusiasm under the auspices of the biology department, citing his lack of professional credentials. This is done gratefully because it gives the faculty a technical excuse for aborting a course they do not want as part of the curriculum. The trouble is, of course, that Shockley has that insatiable mind, and there is no reason to suppose that if he gave all his time to the study of genetics, which he appears to be doing, he would be professionally incompetent after a few years to teach genetics. Shockley is not (in this respect) dumber than graduate students who, after two or three years of study, are permitted to teach genetics.

THE scandal, my friend, is of a different order. It was not widely noted by the press that Shockley's opponent, this time around, was not scheduled to be one of those liberal Ashley Montagu types, who are put up against Shockley mostly for the purpose of delivering doctrinaire defenses against the validity of his preliminary findings on the matter of variations in intelligence. The trouble with these is that they do not always persuade the audience up against the figures adduced by Shockley. And when they fail at a technical level, there goes the ball game. If in fact it is proved with scientific conclusiveness that there is a disparity between average Negro intelligence psychometrically measured and that of whites, the consequences for liberal egalitarian dogma would be nothing short of catastrophic. Their cosmology would fall.

But this would not be the case for those whose values are Christian, and whose belief is in metaphysical equality. Shockley would probably win a debate with Ashley Montagu. Up against William Rusher, he would be slaughtered. Because Rusher would focus not on the inexactitude of Shockley's findings, but on their irrelevancy. And, as regards his prescriptions, he would say quite simply that they are neobarbaric. By which I mean that they are the twentieth century equivalent of the pagan infanticide by which a society regulated, to its own satisfaction, the male-female ratio of the population.

What was obviously proved at Yale is that Shockley cannot get a fair trial at the hands of Kingman Brewster. What was incidentally lost at Yale was the opportunity to show that only true conservatives can dispose with confidence of the Shockley menace. □

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Promoter of Suez Canal whose efforts to build Panama Canal ended in bankruptcy — 24 211 60 1 6 147 188 150 16 198

B. Region in which Panama Canal is located — 52 148 76 209 81 97 202 127 151 174

C. Consisting of or involving warships — 71 103 172 1 7 51

D. Any of various lotteries — 77 46 110 122 156 141 153 171 118 136 139

E. American oil magnate and promoter (1830-1913) — 161 55 158 142 44 15 82

F. Battleship that took 13,000 miles to go from San Francisco to Cuba in 1898 — 184 48 187 170 113 3

G. A town in the Canal Zone — 192 42 138 74 104 119 190 69 94 204 63

H. A town in the Canal Zone — 210 130 17 58 101 28 186 199 203 72 196 183 207

I. President of the United States during part of Panama Canal construction — 7 21 86 93

J. Treaty that gave U.S. permission to build, operate, and fortify Panama Canal — 78 19 45 178 140 29 32 22 66 191 160 132 200

K. "They shall call his name_____." — 90 194 208 64 5 149 14 105

L. Dried grapes — 121 83 56 53 68 34 80

M. St. Louis Cardinal outfielder, 1927-1935; also Hollywood actor — 133 180 54 79 123 145 37

N. City in Southern Iowa — 144 134 164 179 89 195 107

O. Commander of Texans at the Alamo — 27 36 57 99 92 30

P. Unguents — 154 59 38 185 137 8 84 177 109

Q. Type of congressional expedition — 120 61 39 12 75 18 129

R. This can be mean — 131 6 65 115 146 166 201 49 102 125 163

S. Lincoln's mother's maiden name — 135 98 126 159 85

T. German mathematician (1823-1852) — 157 168 152 173 2 108 112 182 4 95

U. What small fry might paint — 20 1 10 33 70 96 124 143 176 181

V. A town in the Canal Zone — 31 128 41 87 167

W. The infernal regions — 35 100 13 111 206 88 165 155

X. With WORD Z, President of the U. S. during part of Panama Canal construction — 62 50 9 197 91 193 67 23

Y. King of Northumbria (585?-633) — 106 26 205 40 169

Z. See WORD X — 162 47 189 114 25 175 73 43 11

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 552 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

■	■	1 U	2 T	■	3 F	4 T	5 K	6 R	7 I	8 P	9 X	10 U	11 Z	12 Q	13 W	14 K	15 E	■	16 A
17 H	18 Q	19 J	20 U	21 I	■	22 J	23 X	24 A	25 Z	26 Y	■	27 O	28 H	■	29 J	30 O	■	31 V	32 J
■	33 U	34 L	35 W	36 O	37 M	38 P	39 Q	40 Y	41 V	42 G	43 Z	44 E	45 J	■	46 D	47 Z	48 F	49 R	50 X
51 C	52 B	53 L	54 M	■	55 E	56 L	57 O	58 H	59 P	60 A	61 Q	62 X	63 G	■	64 K	65 R	66 J	67 X	68 L
69 G	70 U	71 C	■	72 H	73 Z	74 G	75 Q	76 B	77 D	■	78 J	79 M	80 L	■	81 B	82 E	83 L	84 P	85 S
86 I	87 V	88 W	89 N	90 K	91 X	■	92 O	93 I	■	94 G	95 T	96 U	97 B	■	98 S	■	99 O	100W	101H
102R	103C	104G	105K	106Y	■	107N	108T	109P	110D	111W	■	112T	113F	■	114Z	115R	116A	117C	118D
■	119G	120Q	■	121L	122D	123M	124U	125R	126S	127B	128V	129Q	■	130H	131R	■	132J	133M	■
134N	135S	136D	137P	■	138G	139D	■	140J	141D	■	142E	143U	144N	145M	146R	147A	148B	149K	150A
■	151B	152T	■	153D	154P	■	155W	156D	157T	158E	159S	■	160J	161E	■	162Z	163R	164N	165W
166R	167V	168T	169Y	170F	■	171D	■	172C	173T	174B	175Z	176U	177P	■	178J	179N	180M	181U	182T
■	183H	184F	■	185P	186H	187F	■	188A	189Z	190G	■	191J	192G	193X	194K	■	195N	196H	197X
198A	199H	■	200J	201R	202B	■	203H	204G	■	205Y	206W	207H	■	208K	209B	210H	211A	■	■

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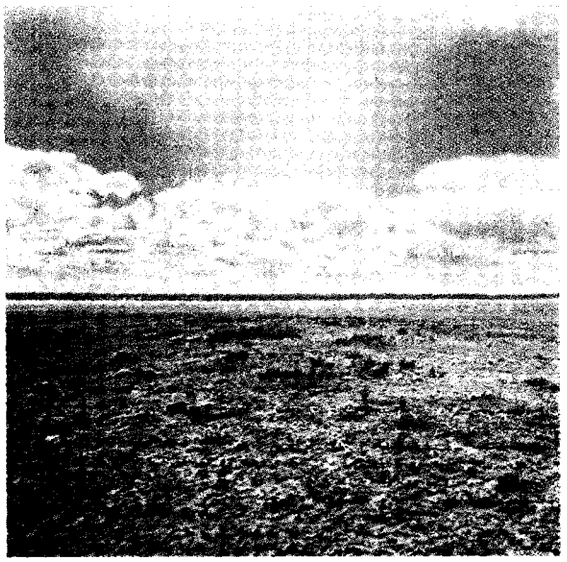

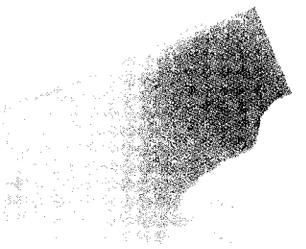

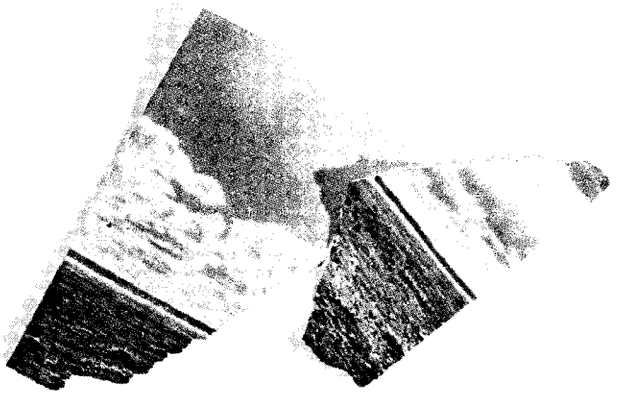

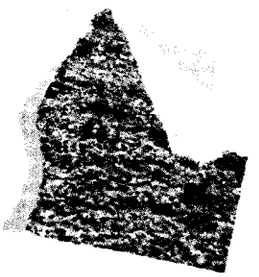

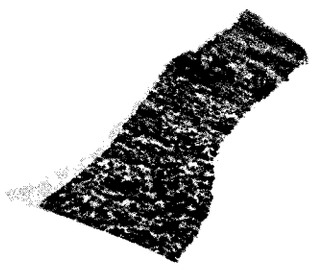

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